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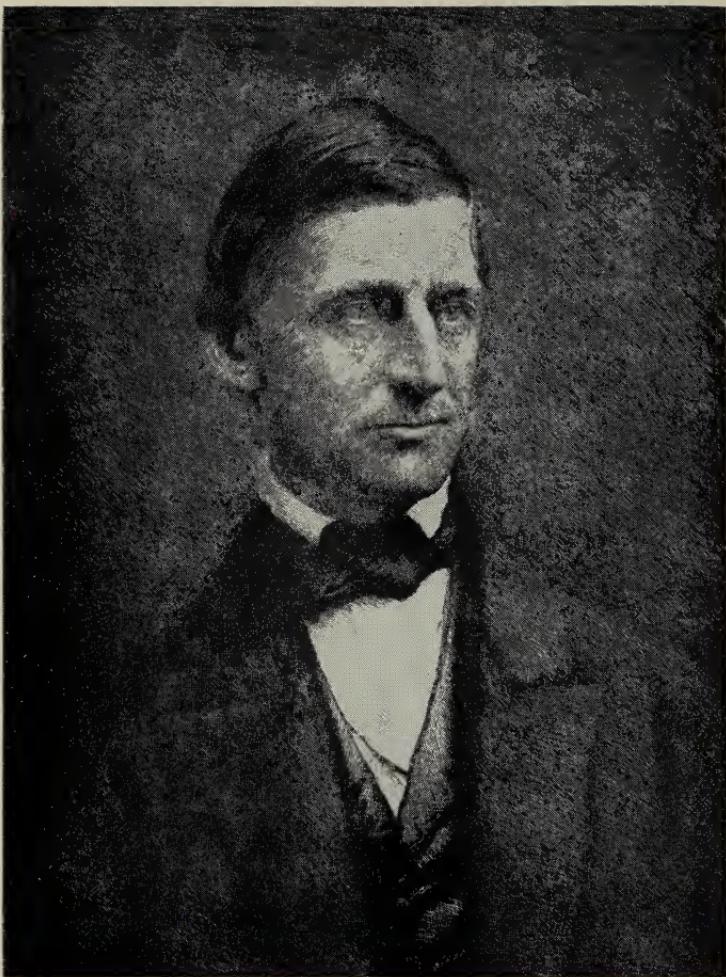
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RALPH WALDO EMERSON

From an Etching by W. H. W. Bicknell made from a Daguerreotype which Southworth & Hawes took when Emerson was in his prime.

These Etchings were published by A. W. Elson & Company of Boston and sold at \$35. each on parchment and \$20. on English paper.

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ESSEX INSTITUTE

HISTORICAL COLLECTIONS

VOL. XCI

JANUARY, 1955

No. 1

HOOSIER REACTIONS TO EMERSON

BY ERNEST W. KINNE

Beginning with 1850, Ralph Waldo Emerson made almost annual lecture tours that took him as far west as frontier Kansas and Minnesota. Writing to his wife from the prairies of Illinois he complained of the rugged winter traveling: "A cold raw country this, and plenty of night travelling and arriving at four in the morning, to take the last and worst bed in the tavern . . ." and five days later he added, "Mercury below zero 22° and this the twelfth day of the cold snap. To cuddle into bed is the only refuge in these towns." On another occasion he travelled sixty-five miles by sleigh to keep a lecture appointment after the railroad had failed him. Such were the hardships of this missionary of culture, of a man no longer young and never in very robust health.

Emerson's wanderings, however, did not bring him to Indiana until 1860, when he lectured in Lafayette on February 4; unfortunately no newspaper account of that lecture survives, but a brief advance notice of the event was published in the *Lafayette Daily Journal*, his subject being "Conduct of Life."

In a letter from Lafayette to Lidian Emerson, dated February 5, 1860, he professed to find it surprising "that you should fancy that an old gentleman plodding through this prairie mud, on such dingy errands, too, should be capable of letters I have had a much easier western trip this far, than ever before, partly owing to the fine weather,

NOTE: Mr. Emerson was a frequent lecturer at the old Salem Lyceum on Church street in Salem in the middle of the Nineteenth century.

which has been almost unbroken." He expressed disappointment over his inability to obtain Darwin's new book, *The Origin of Species*. "It has not arrived in these dark lands."

Three years later Emerson made his way to Indianapolis for his first lecture there, and in 1866 delivered his second and last lecture in that then thriving city of thirty thousand. From Chicago, where he had lectured on January 22, 1863, to the Young Men's Association, he arrived in Indianapolis on Friday evening "at great haste and inconvenience from Chicago" only to find that, because of a misunderstanding between his lecture agent and the local committee, no hall was available the next evening and that he must wait until Tuesday night before a hall would be free for his lecture. "'Tis a long day's ride from Chicago," he concludes in his letter home with an almost audible sigh.

Apogetically, the Indianapolis *Daily Journal* of January 26, 1863, notes that "this distinguished philosopher and author has been in our city since Friday night waiting an opportunity to deliver a lecture before the Young Men's Christian Association The accidental occupancy of Masonic Hall every night till Tuesday night Jan. 27 has caused the delay, which we hope will not be unprofitable or unpleasant for our distinguished visitor."

One of his hosts, however, "made my visit or imprisonment in dingy hotel and muddy town as tolerable as he could, brought me lawyers and college professors, carried me to hear Gottschalk and Patti." According to the *Journal*, the farewell concerts of L. M. Gottschalk, pianist and composer, and Carlotta Patti, soprano prima donna, were to be given in Masonic Hall, January 23 and 24; hence the cause of the delay in Emerson's lecture date. Although the *Journal* gave the concert its wholehearted praise, the less high-brow *Sentinel* declared, "The musical critics were in ecstasies, and those who did not know whether the music was good or bad took their cues from those of cultivated taste and consequently the praises of the great composer and the great vocalist were upon every tongue."

Indianapolis streets, then a sea of mud, were a formidable obstacle to traffic; nevertheless, the concert won the verdict over the mud, declared the *Sentinel* of January 24, which

also deplored the lack of civic pride that tolerated such conditions. "The streets of the city are filthy in the extreme. Even the bowldered squares are ankle deep in mud." More tolerant of the city's shortcomings, Emerson wrote home, "The best feature in the city is that it is laid out on the model of Washington City and its streets are named after the states."

Thus we see that his long weekend was spent profitably. On Saturday morning Mr. Emerson visited the Blind Asylum, "where he witnessed the examination of the various classes, and expressed himself highly pleased with the proficiency of the pupils," according to the report in the *Journal* on January 26. After they sang a "spirited song" Emerson addressed them for a few minutes and at the request of a Mr. Churchman "recited a pretty ballad, of Sir Walter Scott's, and thus concluded a pleasant interview for all parties." Then the reporter concluded, "Mr. Emerson will lecture tomorrow night. His subject is quaintly named by himself, 'Clubs, or Conversation.'"

Perhaps to make amends for this somewhat facetious remark the *Journal* ran this notice on Tuesday before the lecture was actually given: "We hardly need remind our readers that tonight at Masonic Hall, Ralph Waldo Emerson, one of the profoundest thinkers and ablest essayists of the present age, will lecture before the Young Men's Christian Association. It is not often that we get sight or hearing of so truly intellectual a man, and we are confident the opportunity will not be lost."

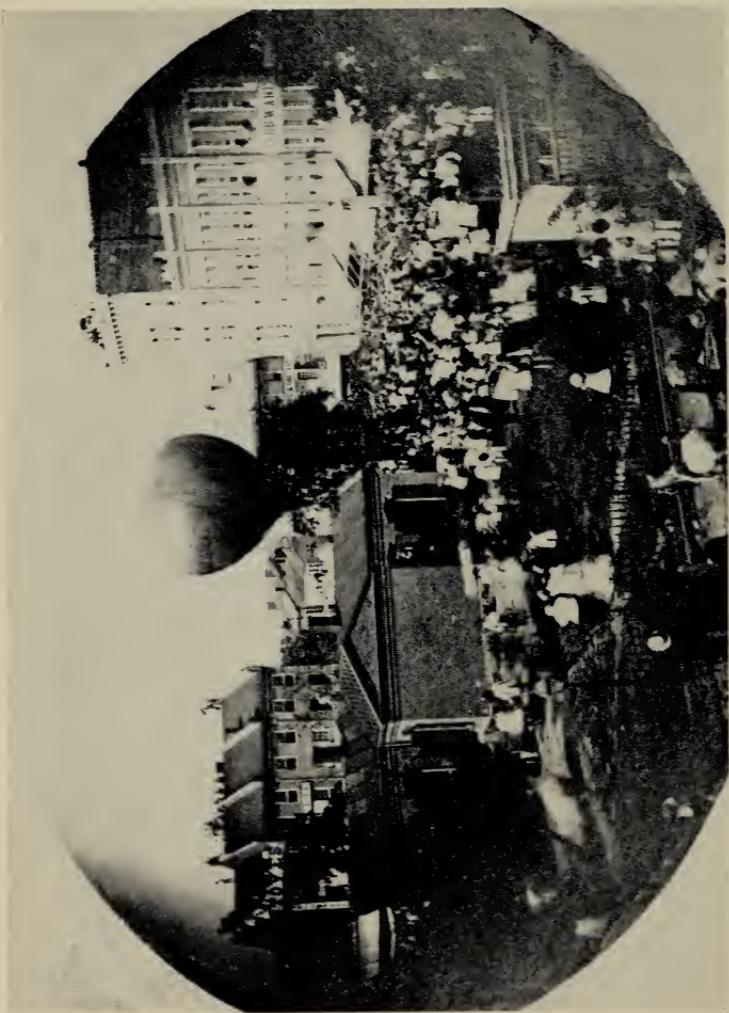
Much more blunt was the announcement in the Indianapolis *Sentinel* of the same date: "Ralph Waldo Emerson lectures tonight at Masonic Hall. The subject is 'Clubs or Conversation.' We do not know what that means, for unlike our Legislature, Mr. Emerson is not bound, as far as we know, to express the subject matter in the title of his bill of fare. We are satisfied, however, that the lecture will be one of interest. Mr. Emerson ranks high as a writer and lecturer, and he has the power to entertain and instruct a cultivated audience." Evidently the *Sentinel* assumed that Indianapolis would provide such an audience; at any rate it failed to report the lecture itself in any subsequent issues of the paper. More to the taste of the editor perhaps were

the Swiss Bell Ringers who were advertised to give "exhibitions of their novel and enchanting music" one week hence; or the "gorgeous spectacle of *Aladdin*" then running in another theater with "startling and original tableaux, combats and dances."

The *Journal* of January 28, however, gives a rather full account of the lecture, a comment of sufficient interest to warrant quoting several sentences. "Probably a better night might have brought out a larger audience but it could hardly have brought out a more appreciative one." The purpose of the lecturer was to show "the importance of clubs or social gatherings, properly applied and regulated, to cultivate genuine conversation." The lecture, declared the reporter, "was full of sound philosophy and shrewd observation. And it overflowed with anecdote and erudition. Probably no other living man could bring so completely together such widely scattered elements of opinion and instruction. He had anecdotes and maxims from the Greeks, legends from the Scandinavians, bon-mots from the French, repartees from the English, and facts from everywhere, and all worked into a solid and symmetrical fabric."

The rival Indianapolis *Daily Gazette* for January 28 reported that the lecture was attended by "an intelligent, and appreciative, audience last night." His subject "was illustrated in a striking manner, turning all subjects for the time, like the waters of a mill race, to bear upon one, and keep the whole moving. Anecdotes, maxims and queer illustrations, sparkled out here and there like stars in a clear firmament, illuminating the discourse and rendering it more interesting and entertaining." The *Gazette* hoped that the value of clubs for stimulating "a healthy flow of conversation" would not pass "unnoticed or unimproved. We need clubs, social societies for mutual improvement — not mutual admiration societies — which would conduce to the enjoyment and enlightenment of their patrons, and now we need them most."

Like many other newspapers of the time, the *Journal* has some adverse criticism of Emerson's delivery and his effectiveness as a speaker, but its comments are more temperate than some. (Just one week previously, January 20, 1863, the *Daily Milwaukee News* called "Clubs and Conversa-



The Square in Lafayette, Indiana, on August 11, 1859.
Emerson gave his lecture in Spencer Hall, over the Hardware store, on the right of the photograph.

tions" "one of the poorest lectures Emerson was capable of and suspected him of under-rating the capacity of Western audiences." But the *Milwaukee Daily Sentinel* in apparent disagreement complimented the audience as "a testimony of the good sense of the lecture-going public," according to Ralph L. Rusk in *The Letters of Ralph Waldo Emerson*.)

Commenting on his delivery, the *Journal* reporter wrote: "If we were to make objections to Mr. Emerson's style or manner of lecturing, we should say his lecture was too much like a book, his delivery not bold and full enough to enable his hearers to take in every sentiment and digest it before another of equal or greater importance is uttered. A reading would be more satisfactory than a hearing, as one could then, at his leisure, stop to dissect an idea before proceeding; he could *see* the word or name, for instance, of a Scandinavian deity, which is not heard very often, and appreciate the application or connection." This complaint of Emerson's erudition leaving the audience gasping behind him was a fairly frequent one in the journalism of the time. "It keeps one thinking rapidly, all the time, to retain all the lecturer says, or like the child stringing beads, with no knot in her thread, the ideas drop off as fast as they are run on. A better selection of a subject could have been made for this time and latitude; one of more vital importance." Here he seems to be echoing the Milwaukee paper quoted above.

"His style of delivery," he continues, "is perfectly adapted to his style of oratory. Both are unlike anybody else's, full of quaint jerks and turns of thought, and as quaint halts and modulations of speech, yet both strong, direct, and devoid of the slightest suggestion of a desire to let either help the other by any grace or ornament of oratory. The delivery simply gets out the idea, and don't [sic] try to keep it on its feet afterwards, and the idea takes no pains to shape itself so as to let the delivery have a graceful task of it. He has a fashion of seeming to forget the last word or two, always significant, and, as in an air on the violin, the keynotes, of a sentence, and stumbling upon them unexpectedly with an effect that the most elaborate declamation could not produce. This is manifestly not a trick of the rostrum, but the necessary halting of speech to let the

idea catch up with it. An illustration may not be out of place. Speaking of the bringing out of one thought by another in conversation, a corresponding or related thought, as one story suggests another like it, he said: 'Thoughts always go in pairs. One fact recalls another, however distant in time or different in circumstances the knowledge of it may have been acquired. Related thoughts will come together. Thoughts go in pairs. And this is the reason, probably, why, when a man tells a good story he invariably — hesitating as if he had forgotten what to say — 'tells it again.' We wish we had space to notice the lecture at greater length, but we have not, and must reluctantly drop the subject."

This mixed reaction to Emerson's efforts to bring culture to remote frontier communities appears to have been the conventional one. In reading dozens of old newspapers of the time one encounters many flattering as well as many uncomplimentary criticisms in the uninhibited phrases of journalists of a century ago. Many speak of his awkward shambling figure striding across the stage upon his entrance, his awkward gestures, his fumbling among his notes; and one Chicago paper of the period described him as a plain, unaffected gentleman who "looks more like an educated, well-to-do farmer than the highly cultivated scholarly lecturer." Another writer found little difficulty in comprehending his finished paragraphs and polished sentences. The obscurity that people complained of must be in what he omits to say. Individual sentences can easily be understood; "to understand the chain of thought which unites them is sometimes difficult to weak and indolent natures." Yet many testify that Emerson could cast a spell over an audience, and Lowell said that his words seem to come straight from heaven.

Even though the Indianapolis *Gazette* in 1863 had expressed some reservations about Emerson as a lecturer, on the occasion of his second appearance three years later, February 13, 1866, it inserted this enthusiastic notice: "The Lecture Tonight. — Masonic Hall will contain an audience tonight composed — be they many or few — of the intelligent and intellectual of our community. It is not everybody that can appreciate Mr. Emerson — even

those who are in the habit of attending popular lectures. But in a city as large as this, there ought to be enough to furnish a good sized audience at least. Mr. Emerson is beyond question the most original and profound thinker in America, as well as one of the best and most interesting lecturers. Every sentence he utters is laden with thought and makes the listener *think* also. We prefer him to any man we have ever heard, and do hope that our citizens will turn out this evening, and give him a good audience."

But the lecture on "Social Aims in America" evidently proved disappointing. "The audience to hear Mr. Emerson's lecture last night was fair — the lecture barely so. We were disappointed in our expectations and think the auditors generally were. Mr. Emerson seemed to be 'out of humor' from some cause or other, and we don't blame him. For a man to come all the way from Boston to lecture to an Indianapolis audience on manners and good breeding, and to be furnished an old, greasy kitchen table, with a candle box on top of it, for a desk is enough to insult any man. We should not have blamed the lecturer if he had walked down from the platform and refused to speak at all, on seeing such accommodations."

Moreover, this was the second time a speaker at the Masonic Hall had been so "insulted." A Mr. Thompson of England "was compelled to use the same table and candle box." The *Gazette* in a dudgeon over this disgrace to the fair name of the city neglected to report what Emerson said on that memorable evening, although we may assume that by this time Emerson must have been accustomed to all kinds of makeshift lecture halls and drab surroundings. One of his early lectures in Cincinnati, for example, was given in a hall over a livery stable from which came so much noise from horses arriving and departing that the audience followed Emerson's musings only with great difficulty.

Apparently there was no other local newspaper coverage of this last lecture in Indianapolis, although the *Journal* on February 13, 1866, gave advance notice of this third lecture in the course under the auspices of the Young Men's Mercantile Library Association. The stereotyped phrases had been repeated in a hundred other papers. "To inform our readers that of all the professional lecturers in our

country, Mr. Emerson is, perhaps, the most distinguished, would be to presume an unpardonable ignorance on the part of our people It is only sufficient to state that he will deliver a lecture on *Social Aims in America*. We leave the audience in the hands of Mr. Emerson and Mr. Emerson to his audience, for we know that they will both be first class." With the fulsome praise the *Journal* reports nothing more of Emerson's lecture in subsequent issues.

Emerson's only other appearance in Indiana was on this same tour, when he appeared at LaPorte on January 15, 1866. The LaPorte *Herald* of January 20 reported the lecture on "Social Aims in America" before the LaPorte Reading Room and Library Association. "The estimate of the lecturer as no orator yet a graceful and fluent talker and of the lecture as one of the most valuable of the course was by this time almost the conventional one," according to Rusk.

So Emerson and his Hoosier audiences take leave of each other with mutual respect, if not warm affection. The lyceum system, then so prevalent in America, had made possible his four appearances in Indiana, as it had elsewhere throughout his long lecture career, which covered nearly forty years. In a letter to Ellen Emerson from Freeport, Illinois, January 25, 1866, he speaks of it with wry humor and even affection. "The institution of these Lyceums is a stroke of heroism in each town, — desperate if it snows or blows on the appointed evening. Here is America in the making, America in the raw, but it doesn't want much to go to lecture, & 'tis pity to drive it. Yet I saw last night at Dubuque one of the goodliest audiences in a most agreeable hall. In the next town all may be doleful. Everywhere the young committees are most friendly people." Truly it took heroism and dogged fortitude for both the lecturer and the various Young Men's Associations to keep alive this lyceum system in frontier communities.

THE VOYAGE OF THE MARGARET 1809-1810

BY DR. JOHN H. REINOEHL

The voyage of the Salem ship *Margaret* in the years 1809-1810 has the quality of an ill-omened Greek Odyssey. Troubles from both man and nature beset the vessel from the beginning of the voyage to its disastrous end. The *Margaret*'s story illustrates the extreme difficulty of trading with Europe during the post-Embargo years while Napoleon's Continental system was operating. At the same time nature took no holiday — the *Margaret*'s story also portrays the ever-present menace of life at sea in the small commerce carriers of the early Nineteenth Century.

The *Margaret*, a trim 295 ton vessel, was built by the Becket shipyard in Salem and first registered there in 1800. She was purchased by the firm of George Crowninshield & Sons in 1803. Placed in service by them, the *Margaret* continued to serve in the trade of that firm, shuttling between Europe, the United States, and the East Indies until the time of the Embargo.

The voyage begun in June, 1809 was the initial trip of the *Margaret* following the lifting of the fifteen-month Embargo. The Crowninshield family firm split at this time, and John Crowninshield, third of the six sons of George Crowninshield, owned a five-sixths interest in the *Margaret*. Her Captain, Wm. Fairfield, held the remaining sixth.¹

The conditions faced by the *Margaret* were precarious. The extraordinary perils came from the two blockade systems established on the continent of Europe. One, the Continental system of Napoleon, regarded all vessels which were in any way tainted by British contact as British, and hence subject to confiscation. The second system, composed of numerous Orders in Council by the government of Great Britain, said that any trade with the French continent of Europe could be done only by stopping first at a British port and paying a tariff to Great Britain. The warring nations had devised these systems in the years 1806 and 1807,

but they had delayed enforcing them until the autumn of 1807. This enforcement had quickly brought the American Embargo. Thomas Jefferson, in his message to Congress speaking of the Embargo had said, "These decrees and orders taken together, want little of amounting to a declaration that every neutral vessel found on the high seas, whatsoever be her cargo, and whatsoever foreign port be that of her departure, or destination, shall be deemed lawful prize; . . . "² The lifting of the Embargo (March, 1809) had allowed the *Margaret* to go forth, but the net of decrees and regulations had decided John Crowninshield to send her to Tunis rather than to the more dangerous European ports.

In the United States the Embargo Act had been superseded in March, 1809 by a Non-Intercourse Act which prohibited trade with British and French territory, but allowed other commerce. The *Margaret* was one of a fleet of Salem vessels which hastened forth in the spring and summer of 1809 to attempt to recapture the lush commerce they had known during the four years before 1807 — years before France and Great Britain had rudely arrested this trade by the rigid enforcement of their Continental system and the Orders in Council respectively. The war in Europe, which had run intermittently since 1792 and which was finally renewed in 1803, had provided a tremendous stimulus to American commerce. Salem's position had been with the vanguard of this commercial development. The single favorable factor connected with the voyage of the *Margaret* was that negotiations with the new British ambassador to Washington, David Erskine, had resulted in a promise of alleviation of the application of the British Orders to American commerce. As provided in the Non-Intercourse Act, the Madison government had ended Non-Intercourse with Great Britain in June, 1809, but had continued it with France.

The *Margaret* carried a crew of fourteen, including Captain Fairfield. Her cargo was listed as India piece goods, sugar, pepper, ginger, coffee, frankincense, myrrh, gum arabic, codfish, rum, rice, indigo, and cassia. As required by the French system the *Margaret* carried French certificates of origin, asserting the non-British quality of the goods carried.³ Her major owner, John Crowninshield, a retired

sea-captain, had been careful to take the steps needed to keep her from coming into conflict with the competing regulations of England and France.

According to Captain Fairfield the initial stage of the *Margaret*'s voyage was uneventful. She sailed into the Mediterranean "without being boarded or even spoken to by any Foreign Ships." Instead of going directly to the port of Tunis she went to Cagliari on the Island of Sardinia, then in the possession of the British. The purpose of this stop remains cloudy. Fairfield told Isaac Cushing, the American consul at Marseilles, that the *Margaret* did no business there and only obtained information and refreshments. She did not obtain pratique (permission to trade or have intercourse after a clean bill of health is procured).⁴ There was doubtless more to the stop in Cagliari than meets the eye. Cagliari was very little closer than was Tunis itself and it hardly seems likely that Fairfield would have jeopardized his ship and cargo by going to a British port and then running the gauntlet provided by French privateers between Cagliari and Tunis for the sake of information and provisions which were just as obtainable at Tunis. By stopping at Cagliari, Fairfield clearly contravened the French system, and yet by not obtaining pratique he had failed to obtain any benefit from the stop. Refreshments and information hardly seem compensating rewards for the loss of whatever immunity compliance with Napoleon's decrees afforded.

The French privateer *Le Constant*, carrying ten guns and eighty men and flying a British flag, sighted the *Margaret* just as she was approaching the port of Bizerte in Tunis. *Le Constant* immediately took up the chase. After a three-hour pursuit she overhauled the *Margaret* and then hoisted her French flag. The French captain ordered Fairfield to come on board his vessel. Then, "having judged him [Fairfield] to be contravening the Decree of His Majesty the Emperor and King we caused to be delivered to us papers and dispatches." The French put a prize crew of seventeen men on the *Margaret*, took off all her American crew except the first officer, steward, and one seaman and headed her for Gaeta on the west coast of Italy about fifty miles northwest of Naples.⁵

Captain Fairfield was near desperation in Gaeta. His cargo was partly of perishable codfish, and the heat of the mid-August Mediterranean climate added to the perishable quality. Fairfield spoke no Italian; he could locate nobody in Gaeta with whom he could converse. He decided to make contact with the American consuls in the area, and wrote to Alexander Hammett, at Naples. On August 18, 1809, he wrote to Isaac Cushing, the American consul at Marseilles, explaining his predicament. Fairfield insisted that the seizure of his ship was illegal, and claimed that he had not violated the Continental System despite his brief stop at Cagliari. He then asked the consul to get word to his owner, John Crowninshield, and to ask him for advice.⁶

At home in Salem, John Crowninshield was as yet ignorant of the fate of his vessel. He had been one of six partners in the firm of George Crowninshield & Sons until its dissolution in the summer of 1809. He had bought five of the firm's vessels and had returned to shipping on a major scale during that same summer. John still owed his father and brothers sizeable amounts of money for the ships he had bought, and the *Margaret* represented a considerable share of his wealth. News of disaster travelled relatively quickly and his papers show that John Crowninshield was aware of the detention of his ship by early November of 1809.

A slip of scratch paper mirrors the concern John Crowninshield felt for the plight of his captured vessel. The *Margaret*'s cargo was worth in Naples \$58,840 and the *Margaret* was worth \$11,160: a total value of \$70,000. Insurance held at Salem would pay \$13,500. Hence the difference to the owners between condemnation or acquittal if the *Margaret* stood trial before a prize court was \$56,500. Her value as she left Salem was reckoned by John at \$37,000 which, after deducting insurance payments would make the actual loss suffered if the ship were condemned \$23,500, still a sizeable amount. At the bottom of the note was written, "23,500 actual loss but if acquitted may fetch me as above \$70,000 & if condemned shall receive only \$13,500."⁷

Meanwhile Captain Fairfield, who as a partner in the venture was a far from disinterested negotiator, found him-

self confronted with a serious problem in dealing with his captors. He had two possibilities facing him: the *Margaret* could be tried at the Paris prize court for having violated the Continental System, and could run the risk of delay and possible total loss; or she could try to work out a deal with her captors for a compromise settlement, whereby the cargo would be sold and the proceeds divided between privateer and captive. Fairfield decided in favor of the speed and the security of a compromise and came to terms with the privateer's men. The agreement, worked out in late 1809, was as follows. The *Margaret*'s cargo was to be sold. All her expenses were to be paid from the proceeds of the sale, and the net was to be divided equally between the privateer and the *Margaret*'s owners.⁸ Following the sale the *Margaret* would be free to pick up a Neapolitan cargo and return to the United States.⁹

Because of the compromise the *Margaret* did not fulfill any of the possibilities set forth by John Crowninshield. Captain Fairfield did, however, receive \$35,000 as the owners' share of the sale and so the *Margaret* crossed her first major hurdle with results rather better than might have been anticipated. Letters were sent to John Crowninshield to tell him of the dealings of his ship and of the intention of Captain Fairfield to pick up a return cargo in Naples before returning to Salem.

Events in Europe had prepared the background for more of the tragedy of the *Margaret*. With his desire to conquer the sea by the land, Napoleon had become more and more hostile to all shipping. When the American Embargo was proclaimed, he had countered it in the spring of 1808 with a Bayonne Decree, which stated that as all American vessels were prohibited from leaving their home ports, any "American" vessels in continental ports must be English ships masquerading behind American papers and hence subject to confiscation. Several of these vessels had been seized at Naples, and their crews were there in the fall of 1809 — sailors without ships in a foreign country. When the *Margaret* finally prepared for the sea, on April 10, 1810, she carried a crew of fifteen, plus thirty-one sailors from other vessels which had been seized at Naples.¹⁰

The *Margaret* set out for Salem with this addition to her

personnel on board. She passed through the Gibraltar straits on April 22 and headed out across the Atlantic. On Sunday, May 20, the *Margaret* was at Latitude 40 degrees North, Longitude 39 degrees 30' West or about 425-450 miles west and slightly north of the most westerly of the Azores Islands, wallowing through heavy seas in a rainstorm. Fairfield ordered the sails taken in, but felt no particular alarm. The weather continued rough until 1 p.m. when the "foretop mast studding sail halyards parted, [and] the studding sail fell overboard." The captain took in more sail, and let fly the sheets. Then, in Fairfield's words, "the wind shifted in an instant from ES E to SW and although the helm was hard to weather we could not get the ship before the wind, but was instantly hove on her beam ends."

Fairfield, with a capsized vessel under his command, immediately ordered all shrouds and masts cut, as the ship was taking water like an immense scoop. Upon being freed of her masts the *Margaret* righted herself, but she had taken on a full load of water, and had lost her means of control and of locomotion. Fairfield next ordered all heavy objects on the deck heaved overboard in the minutes after the cutting away of the masts and shrouds.

This work did not free the *Margaret* even from immediate danger. Her amputated spars and rigging had become fast to her under water, and each surge of the rough sea sent them hammering against her with a violence that threatened to pound her to pieces. Attempts to clear the wreck of this network were futile. Water cascaded over her and forced the men to fear for their own safety, while completely eliminating any hope of freeing the *Margaret* from her own debris.

Abandoning the attempt to clear the wreck of her mangled rigging, Captain Fairfield next thought of the small boats carried by the *Margaret*. The men found them tangled in the wreckage, one being completely destroyed while the others were considerably damaged. The longboat, bottom-side-up, lay among the pieces of the wreck, but each wave brought additional damage to her. Only the small stern boat was accessible, "laying at a small distance from the ship, full of water, with her gunwales tore off, butts started, and stern about half stove in." They bailed out the stern

boat and by using it managed to get a rope through to the long boat and hauled her to the leeward side of the wreck.

The long boat was badly damaged from the beating she had taken while tossing amidst the ship's rigging. Her sides and bottom had such large holes that she could not be bailed out, so after righting her the men were forced to upset her again in order to patch the holes. When the long boat was patched to the extent that she could be righted Captain Fairfield and the repair crew transferred to her although constant bailing was still required to keep her afloat.

At 7 p.m., six hours after the *Margaret* had capsized, the long boat was patched well enough to appear seaworthy. The shipwrecked crew realized that their best chance for safety lay with that small craft which, unfortunately, would not hold all of them. The first suggestion of a struggle among the men came shortly after the long boat appeared to be usable. The battered *Margaret* seemed certain to sink, and a place on the long boat appeared the only chance for life itself. During the repairing operation she had drifted a little distance from the wreck, but now she approached the disabled *Margaret* to get more canvas and oakum to stop the lesser leaks. Immediately as many men as could crowd close scrambled into the long boat.

The *Margaret* had carried lifesaving equipment enough for her crew, but forty-six men were now stranded on the wreck and obviously some could not go in the long boat if she were to leave the wreck. Fearing that the long boat would be sunk, Captain Fairfield and those on the boat quickly moved to a distance of fifteen or twenty fathoms from the *Margaret*. By now there were twelve men on the long boat. As she hovered at this distance a sailor jumped into the water and swam from the wreck to the lifeboat. As it appeared that others would follow, the men on the long boat pulled still farther from the *Margaret*. They shouted warnings to those on the wreck that any attempt to swim to the long boat would force them to cut the painter connecting the two vessels and leave. Captain Fairfield's description of the first evening shows the fears and evidence of trouble among the men. ". . . the people on board the ship being exceedingly anxious to get into the boat (which had they affected we should all have inevitably lost) kept

hauling the boat towards them; we then bent on another rope, and veered out as they hauled; but finding they were determined to sink the boat by getting into her, we were obliged (after stating repeatedly to them our situation) to tell them that provided they persisted in getting into the boat, we should be obliged, tho' very reluctantly, to cut the rope and leave them: after which they desisted from hauling the boat towards the ship." The long night passed with the long boat fastened to the wreck, but with suspicion and antagonism growing between the two groups.

Dawn on Monday, May 21, brought a moderate sea and smooth breezes to the shipwrecked men. Those on the wreck were about evenly divided between the bow sprit and the taffrel rail, as the center part of the *Margaret* was completely under water. They pleaded constantly with those in the long boat to take them aboard. The men on the long boat meanwhile were bailing constantly to keep their vessel afloat. They assured the men on the *Margaret* that they would not leave the wreck so long as no one attempted to join them. Too, those on the long boat had no quadrant or compass, nor did they have any means of steering their craft. The traditional menace to the shipwrecked, a lack of fresh water, plagued both groups.

The sea itself brought relief to the long boat. Various pieces of cargo began to drift from the wreck, and the long boat soon collected a hoard of supplies. A cask of oil, a pig and a goat which had drowned, and a bag of bread were hauled aboard; the men on the wreck tossed a jug of brandy overboard and it too drifted to them. Five oars, two spars, and the mizzen top gallant sail were secured by the crew on the long boat. By 11 a.m. Monday they had fashioned a sail for the long boat from the mizzen top gallant sail they had salvaged, and with the oars and supplies they had collected were in a position to be much more independent of the wreck.

The raising of the sail on the long boat apparently convinced the men on the wreck that the long boat planned to abandon them. Several jumped from the wreck into the sea and attempted to swim to the life boat. Fairfield and his crew merely moved their craft farther from the wreck, although he assured those on the *Margaret* that the long

boat would not leave so long as the ship held together. Despite these assurances, other attempts were made to board the long boat, several by swimming and one by using the small stern boat, but all failed.

The crew on the wreck now shouted that they had found two compasses, two quadrants, one hogshead of water, bread, flour, and plenty of provisions. If the men on the long boat wanted any of the supplies, they were told, they could have some by coming close to the *Margaret*. Captain Fairfield said men lined the taffrel rail preparing to jump to the long boat if it should approach the wreck. Those on the lifeboat merely maintained their distance from the ship.

Fairfield and his long boat crew finally abandoned any hope they held for cooperation with those on the wreck. ". . . seeing they were all determined to pursue the same plan . . . , we were under the painful necessity of cutting the rope by which we were fast to the ship, and row and sail from them for the preservation of our lives, being in hopes of falling in with a vessel to relieve us, which was almost the only hope we had left, being about 400 miles distant from the nearest land." Fifteen men left the *Margaret*; there were thirty-one who remained on the wreck.

The long boat left the wreck at about noon on Monday, May 21, and sailed due east in an attempt to hit Corvo or Flores, two western islands of the Azores group. They steered by the stars at night and the sun by day — when clouds interfered they watched the heaving sea and steered as well as they could by it. After five days of navigation without instruments they saw a sail. It was the brig *Poacher* of Boston, under Captain James Dunn. They managed to attract her attention, and were taken aboard. En route to Boston they met the brig *Mentor*, bound for Marblehead, under Captain Richard Pedrick, and those from the Salem area transferred to the *Mentor*. On June 19, 1810, thirty days after their shipwreck, the men arrived in Marblehead with the story of the tragedy.

All fifteen men who escaped the wreck in the long boat were saved. In addition to Captain Fairfield they were: Louis Barney, William Graves, John Hayman, Zerubbabel Kemp, Alexander McKenzy, John Peck, Richard Peele, Edward Richardson, Joshua Safford, Jacob Schultz, Alexander

Thomson, John Tyler, Nahum Warren and Rufus Wilkins. Peele, Richardson and Hayman were of the crew of the *Margaret*; the others were of the crews of other ships which had been seized by Napoleon in Italy.

Meanwhile the men who had been left on the wreck had not abandoned hope with the departure of the long boat.¹¹ They still had a partially submerged hulk under them, and the discovery of supplies that they had made known to the long boat crew erased food and water from the list of their immediate problems. They had retained the small stern boat. Their account of the wreck differed from that of the long boat survivors in several minor details which are tied to the obvious antagonism between the two groups. Two of their statements are worth at least noting. The men left on the wreck disagreed as to the danger involved in more of them going into the long boat. They insisted that the long boat actually would have sailed better had she carried an additional ton of weight and that the fear of sinking due to overloading was groundless. Their second grievance is more readily acceptable: had the long boat stayed with the wreck they would have been better able to intercept passing ships.

Once they were left without hope of leaving the ship the *Margaret*'s occupants organized. They named Captain Henry Larcom, late of the schooner *Mary*, of Beverly, as their leader. His first move was to build a shelter. A scaffold, which would afford protection from the weather and sun was fastened to the quarter rails. Provisions were collected from inside the wreckage, and by constant work they obtained a good supply of salt meat, pork, ham, flour, and water. In this way they made conditions on the hulk as comfortable as was possible.

Six days passed after the departure of the long boat. The most notable happening came on the third day, when a sail was sighted. The yawl was sent out to intercept her. Approaching, the men in the yawl saw that the vessel was becalmed. They came close enough to see men moving about on the deck, but just when it appeared that they could not miss being rescued a breeze came up and quickly carried the ship out of reach. They made their way back to the wreck thoroughly discouraged.

Later they caught a huge sea turtle. They had found a tinder box in a chest on the *Margaret*, and on Saturday, May 26, they had a warm meal cooked from the turtle. Then on Sunday, exactly one week after the original wreck of the ship, the weather exploded with a strong wind and heavy seas.

The disabled hulk was totally unable to withstand the renewed battering of the sea. The upper deck was ripped up by the violent waves; then the stern broke off and the provisions and water which had been carefully collected were washed away. Captain Larcom and four others took to the yawl, which had been fastened to the wreck with a rope, while the twenty-six other survivors moved up to the bowsprit. They managed to save two gallons of wine and some salt meat from this latest disaster.

Nonetheless they continued their attempt to thwart the seemingly ceaseless efforts of the sea to claim them. The *Margaret* was higher now than she had been and they built a new stage on her bow. Using a boathook, they collected hams and meats from below, but their lack of water made the food useless to them almost from the first. It became increasingly so as time passed.

Another week went by. The wine had lasted only a short time and the suffering from thirst was acute. The first man died from thirst on June 1, twelve days after the shipwreck. Two days later they succeeded in bringing a pipe of brandy from the lower hold of the ship, but this proved more disastrous than their thirst had been. Weakened from exposure and thirst, the men were unable to drink the brandy in small enough amounts to be helpful; fourteen died that night from drinking the brandy, while a fifteenth died the following day.

They continued to see sails in the distance, although none so close as the heartbreaking first one. A total of four sails attracted their attention, but repeated failures in trying to attract attention from the passing vessels plus the deaths of more than half their number made the men turn to more desperate measures.

After seventeen days on the wreck, Captain Larcom decided that they had drifted out of the lanes taken by passing ships. He sounded out the remaining men on their willing-

ness to leave the wreck in the yawl, attempting to travel northward. They still retained their compasses and sextants and would be able to maintain their bearings. The men on the wreck had settled into a lethargy which allowed little consideration for Larcom's plan. Four were interested, but the others were skeptical of their chances in the shattered little boat and preferred to remain on the wreck. Captain Larcom and four other men, E. A. Irvine, John Very, Jephthah Layth, and John Treadwell, finally prepared to leave the wreck in the yawl.

They had made a small sail for the boat and they collected some of the brandy and the salt pork, although they could not eat the pork because they had had no water for so long. Then on June 6, the five cut loose from the *Margaret* and set sail to the north. The yawl was in such shape that she required constant bailing — the bottom of the small boat was nearly worn through by the incessant dipping of water before they were picked up.

Ten or twelve days after they left the wreck it rained. The five collected water by soaking cloths and wringing them into a box. Revived somewhat by the water, they made a small dip net of their handkerchiefs and caught some small fish which they split and dried. Despite this temporary respite, on June 22, three days after the crew from the long boat had arrived at Salem, John Treadwell died. Five days more passed in the stern boat and then Jephthah Layth also died. The three remaining men continued to watch and steer and bail. They had seen three vessels pass since leaving the *Margaret*, but all had passed by without noticing the small boat.

Captain Larcom saw a sail on June 29, at about four miles distance. The wind favored them this time, and they were able to move the battered yawl directly into the path of the passing vessel, the schooner *General Johnson*, bound from Lisbon to Gloucester. They were taken to Gloucester, arriving there on July 21. The two surviving Salemites, Very and Irvine, were home in Salem on July 22, two months and two days after the wreck of the *Margaret*. The ten men who had remained with the *Margaret* were lost.¹²

Once the second group of survivors arrived in Massachusetts, the violent argument that had begun at sea over the

long boat's departure from the wreck was renewed. The charge that the long boat had left the scene of the wreck with less than a full load of men and that they had fled under something less than honorable circumstances was denied by those who had been on the long boat. The two newspapers of Salem, bitter opponents themselves, carried survivor accounts and charges. Rev. William Bentley, diarist of this period of Salem, suggested, with apparent reason, that the struggle took on political tones in hotly partisan Salem.¹³

John Crowninshield had received but sketchy information of the affairs of his vessel following her sequestration at Naples. A letter from his London agent had told him of the compromise that had been worked out by Captain Fairfield. A letter from a Neapolitan merchant firm had told him of Fairfield's intention to sail "with a cargo of the produce of this country as soon as possible" but with no specific sailing date mentioned.¹⁴

The arrival of the shipwrecked victims at Salem gave Crowninshield his first positive news of the *Margaret*. On June 20, William Gray, one of the insurance underwriters on the ship, sent him a letter notifying him of the sinking (the *Poacher* had gone into Boston) and acknowledging insurance payments due.¹⁵ Complications arose over the payments due because of the circumstances surrounding the *Margaret*'s seizure before her accidental sinking, but John Crowninshield finally received his insurance payments for the loss of the *Margaret*.¹⁶

The final chapters in the story of the *Margaret* voyage did not come until more than twenty years after her sinking. The French government of Louis Phillippe, which came to power in 1830, accepted responsibility for spoliation suffered by American shippers at the hands of Napoleon. An agreement was worked out between the two countries in 1831, whereby France paid the United States government a lump sum. Americans claiming spoliation payments against France then transferred their claims to their own government. Under this arrangement John Crowninshield gathered all briefs and papers connected with the *Margaret* and her seizure and claimed the loss of half the cargo the ship had carried from Salem, but at Neapolitan prices. The

federal government awarded him \$8903, but paid him only \$4569 on a claim filed for \$27,981.90.¹⁷ Because more money was awarded than had been received from France the government paid only a pro-rated fraction of each award that was made.

In 1837, one of the sailors on the *Margaret*, John Hayman, now a ship captain, sued John Crowninshield for back wages, which he claimed had not been paid. The suit was not successful.¹⁸

The *Margaret* story illustrates those times — turbulent times when Europe's wars and regulations made life hectic and perilous for the American sailor and merchant. The dominant strain, however, in the tragic story of the *Margaret* is the struggle of the men and their frail ship against the unpredictably powerful and cruel sea.

NOTES

1. Crowninshield MSS., Essex Institute, *Margaret* Bills of Sale, May 29, 1809 and June 29, 1809. Hereafter cited as Crowninshield MSS.
2. "State Papers and Publick Documents of the United States from the Accession of George Washington to the presidency exhibiting a complete view of our foreign relations since that time," 2nd Ed., 10 Vols. (Boston, 1817), "Jefferson's Message to Congress", Mar. 17, 1808, VI, 74.
3. Crowninshield MSS., Wm. Fairfield to American Consul at Naples, Gaeta, Aug. 18, 1809.
4. *Ibid.* Wm. Fairfield to Isaac Cushing, Gaeta, Aug. 18, 1809.
5. *Ibid.* Report of the Captain and Principle Officers of the privateer the *Constant* upon the capture of the ship *Margaret*.
6. *Ibid.* Wm. Fairfield to Isaac Cushing, Gaeta, Aug. 18, 1809.
7. *Ibid.* Note by John Crowninshield, Nov. 12, 1809.
8. *Ibid.* Samuel Williams to John Crowninshield, London, Jan. 12, 1810.
9. *Ibid.* Fred Degen & Co. to John Crowninshield, Naples, Mar. 11, 1810.
10. Essex Register, June 20, 1810. The following account is from the first group of survivors of the *Margaret* as reported by the *Register*.

11. Salem *Gazette*, July 24, 1810. The following account is from the second group of survivors of the *Margaret*, as reported by the *Gazette*. An anonymous account of the sufferings of this group of survivors appeared in the *Atlantic Monthly* of August, 1874 under the title, "My Father's Shipwreck." It closely follows the *Gazette* story, although the charges against the first group of survivors are more bluntly made.

12. The men who died on the *Margaret* before the second boat left were:

Isaac Choate	Samuel Craft
G. E. A. Carpenter	George Cogswell
George Prince	John Brown
Green Perry	Daniel Cahill
Maybury Orion	Stephen Valpey
John Jones	Louis Josias
Henry Gill	Hanson Wilson
John Brackley	George Jones

The men alive on the *Margaret* when the second boat left were:

Henry Tucker	Nathaniel Sheffield
Benjamin Peele	Jacob Fowler
John Janvrin	James Sinclair
John Merrill	William Burrill
Edmund Wingate	Alexander Marshall

13. Rev. Wm. Bentley, *Diary of William Bentley*, 4 Vols. (Salem, 1905-1914), July 23, 25, 1810, Aug. 18, 1810, III, 532, 535.

14. Crowninshield MSS., Fred Degen & Co. to John Crowninshield, Naples, Mar. 11, 1810.

15. *Ibid.* William Gray to John Crowninshield, Boston, June 20, 1810.

16. *Ibid.* Extract from Court Record on *Margaret*, Nov., 1811.

17. United States National Archives, Department of State Spoliation Claims from 1831 Treaty with France, Ship *Margaret*. Also, Crowninshield MSS., Virgil Maxey to John Crowninshield, Washington, D. C., Jan. 2, 1835.

18. Crowninshield MSS., John Crowninshield to Virgil Maxey, Boston, Mar. 31, 1837 and John Crowninshield to Joseph Prince, Boston, June 20, 1837.

EXTRACTS FROM THE SALEM SCHOOL COMMITTEE RECORDS

COPIED BY COL. PERLEY PUTNAM — 1834

This valuable record of the activities of the Salem School Committee was presented to the Essex Institute by Mr. William H. Cook of Beverly, a descendant of Col. Putnam. Col. Putnam was born in Danvers, September 16, 1778, the son of Nathan Putnam, a Revolutionary soldier, and his wife Harriet (Putnam) Putnam. He married Betsey Putnam, daughter of John and Mehitabel (White) Putnam. His children had as much Putnam blood as anybody in Danvers. He was a carpenter in Salem, and built the Custom House and other famous buildings. A sketch of his activities may be found in the Essex Institute Historical Collections, volume 72, page 87.

The following Named Gentlemen have been employed by the Town of Salem, as Instructors of youth in the various Schools in the Town, from the Year — 1713 to the Year 1835. And the time each one Served as an Instructor, as aforesaid.

When Commissioned	Masters Names	When Discharged	Time of Service
1713	Nathaniel Higginson	1715	2 Years
"	Obadiah Ayres	"	" "
1718	John Nutting	1740	22 "
"	John Swinerton	1725	7 "
1725	John Gerrish	1740	15 "
1752	Abijah Hart	1756	4 "
1751	Jonathan Sewall	1756	5 "
1753	William Jeffry	1755	2 "
1755	Nehemiah Northey	1757	2 "
1757	Ebenezer Bowditch	1761	4 "
1756	William Watter	1758	2 "
1759	Daniel Epes	1759	1 "

When Commissioned	Masters Names	When Discharged	Time of Service
1759	Nathan Goodale	1770	11 "
1757	James Ford	1771	14 "
1763	Amos Cheever Usher	1764	1 "
1764	Samuel Gale "	1767	4 "
1771	James Diman	1772	2 "
1771	Edward Norris	1772	2 "
1790	Edward Lang	1810	20 "
1790	David Northy	1790	6 Months
1790	John Southwick	1791	2 Years
1790	Isaac Hacker	1816	26 "
1790	Thomas Bancroft	1793	3 "
1790	John Gray	1817	27 "
1790	Joseph Moses Usher	1791	1 Year
			6 Months
1793	Nathaniel Rogers	1797	4 Years
1797	David Kendall	1799	3 Years
1799	Daniel Parker	1812	13 "
1807	William B. Dodge	1835	28 "
1810	Daniel Berry	1817	7 "
1811	Moses Stephens	1818	8 "
1815	Edward Sawyer	1818	3 "
1820	Daniel A. Poor	1822	2 "
1817	Jonathan C. Hill	1817	3 months
1817	Samuel Preston	1818	9 months
1817	Amory Felton	1819	2 Years
1818	James S. Gerrish	1822	4 "
1818	James Day	1823	5 "
1818	Frederick Emerson	1823	4 "
1819	Augt 18th Henry K. Oliver Commenced as an usher in the Grammar School at a Salary of \$600 per year and continued untill Feby 15 1823 for which time he received \$2027.		
1820	Edwin Josselyn	1835	15 Years
1820	James Gale	1823	3 "
1822	Samuel Burrell	1826	
1822	John Peirsons	—	4 months
1822	Jacob Hood	1835	13 Years
1823	Theadore Eames	1830	

Mr. Eames Commenced Keeping the Grammar School March 1st 1823 and continued to Keep said School untill March 30th 1830, when he was discharged by the Committee for Grossly insulting them. His Salary during the time was 1200 Dollars a year

When Commissioned	Masters Names	When Discharged	Time of Service
1824	Mr. Ira Cheever		
1826	Alfred Greenleaf	1827	one Year
1826	Richard Gardner	1835	9 Years
1827	Jonathan F. Worcester		
1827	Henry K. Oliver	1830	4 Years
1827	Rufus Putnam	1835	8 Years
"	Henry I. Hamelton	1833	6 "
1828	Abner Brooks	1835	7 "
1830	Amos D. Wheeler	1833	3 "
1830	Elisha Mack	—	about 3 months
1830	William H. Brooks	1835	5 Years
1833	J. B. Fairfield	1835	2 "
1833	Oliver Carlton	1835	2 "
1834	Albert Lackey	1835	1 "
1827	Herman Bourne	1828	

The following Named Persons were Instructors in the Several Public Schools in the Town of Salem. — at the date annexed to their Names.

Viz—

1718	John Nutting	Master of Grammar School
"	John Swinerton	" Writing "
1713	Obadiah Ayres	" Grammar "
"	Nathaniel Higginson	" Writing "
1725	John Gerrish	" " "
1752	Abijah Hart	" " "
"	Jonathan Sewall	" Grammar "
1753	William Jeffery	Assistant to Mr. Hart
	Nehemiah Northy	" " " "
1757	Ebenezer Bowditch	Writing School
1756	William Watter	" " "
1759	Daniel Epes	" " "

			Grammar	"
1757	James Ford		Writing	"
1763	Amos Cheever		"	"
"	Samuel Gale		"	"
1771	James Diman		Grammar	"
"	Edward Norris		Writing	"
1790	Edward Lang		Writing	"
"	David Northey		"	"
"	John Southwick Usher	East School		
"	Isaac Hacker		Writing	"
"	Thomas Bancroft		Grammar	"
1791	John Gray		Writing	"
	Joseph Moses Usher			
1793	Nathaniel Rogers		Grammar	
1797	David Kendall		"	
1799	Daniel Parker		"	
1801	Hannah Lamperel		Instructor in Primary School	
"	Mary Halman		"	"
"	Mary Carlton		"	"
"	Sarah Trask		"	"
1804	Mrs. Elizabeth Blackney		"	"
"	Elizabeth Herrick		"	"
1807	Chloe Minns		"	"
1808	Elizabeth Dove		"	"
"	Rebecca Driver		"	"
1810	Nabby Perkins		Mistress Primary School	
1812	Daniel Berry		Master of East School	
"	Moses Stevens		" Grammar	"
"	Mary Britton		" Primary	"
"	Hannah Polfrey		"	"
1816	Hannah Brown		"	"
"	Elizabeth Chipman		"	"
1812	Judith Walker		"	"
"	Betsey Hodgdon		"	"
1815	Mary Bateman		"	"
1812	Eleanor Dyer		"	"
1817	Chloe Lawrence		"	"
1814	Sarah Phelps		"	"
"	Sarah Fellows		"	"
"	Lucy Symonds		"	"
1815	Eunice Evans		"	"

1816	Mary Read	"	"
"	Lydia Cloutman	"	"
1817	Joanna Waters	"	"
"	Jon ^a Hill		
"	Edward Sawyer		
1820	Daniel A. Poor		
1817	Samuel Preston	East School	
1817	Amory Tilton	West School	
	Mercy Rope	East Primary	"
1818	James S. Gerrish	East	"
1818	James Day	Grammar	"
	Fanny Very		
"	Ann O. Chapman	West School	
"	Frederick Emmerson	Assistant to Grammar School	
1819	Henry K. Oliver		
1820	Edwin Joslyne	East School	
"	James Gale	South Salem School	
1822	Samuel Burrill	Williams Street School	
"	John Peirson	East School	
"	Mary Molloy		
"	Jacob Hood	East School	
	Hannah S. Haskell		
	Mary C. Skerry	(Eliza E Gray kept the Eastern)	
	S. P. Dennis	(Primary School from to 1829)	
	Hannah Stacy		
	Lois Knight		
1825	Eliza Andrews		
1826	Sarah Barr		
1829	Ann Stone		
1833	Smith		
1833	Nancy Eustis		
1829	Susan Gray		
1826	Hannah		
1832	Lydia Richardson		
	At A Town Meeting Legally warned Assembled at Salem		
	March 10th 1712		
	Voted — Col John Higginson Chosen Moderator. Voted		
	That a Committee of five persons be made choice of by the		
	Town for procuring a School Master in the room of Mr.		
	John Emmerson Dec ^d .		
	Grammar School Master		

Voted — That Coll^o Samuel Brown, Josiah Walcot, Esq. Major Stephen Sewall, Mr John Higginson, Jr. & Walter Price, are chosen, and appointed a Committee, they or the Major part of them, to procure a Suitable Grammer School Master for the instruction of Youth in Grammer Learning, and to fitt them for the Colledge, and also to learn them to write & Cypher, and to perfect them in reading and on tryal of a person or persons & Judging them suitable for the same the Said Committee to agree with them on behalf of the Town on the best Terms they can. the Salary to be paid out of the Rents Appropriated to Said School, as also the interest of the Lagacies Given for the use of Said School, and the said Committee to give the School Master Such Instructions as may be necessary & Suitable for the benefit of Said School. This Committees Power to continue untill the Town Shall appoint another Committee in their Stead for the end aforesaid.

Vera Copia Attest Walter Price

Watch House for a School House

At A Town Meeting Legally warned, held at Salem June 16 1712.

Voted — Major Stephen Sewall, Chosen Moderator. Voted — that the Watch House Adjoining the Town House be for the future Sett apart & improved for a School House for teaching & instructing of youth, in writing Cyphering and Mariners Art, and perfecting in Reading, and that the same be repaired & fitted Conveniently for the use aforesaid by the Town Treasurer, as the Committee formerly chosen for the Grammar School Shall direct. Voted — That the Rents of the Seventy Acres by Feltons & other Small Rents payable to the Town, not yet otherways appropriated Shall hereafter be appropriated & set apart towards the Support of the Writing School & before mentioned. Voted — That the rents Interest & income of the Grammer School formerly given & Set apart for that End Shall or May amount to more than the Committee for the time being do or shall hereafter agree to pay to the Grammer School Master per Annum Shall be improved towards the Support of the above mentioned Writing School. Voted — That the Same Committee Chosen the 10th of March last past for procuring a Gram-

mer School Master & Regulating that School, are now Elected & appointed to procure & agree with a Suitable person for the keeping the aforesaid Writing School and the Said Committee to give the School Master such instructions as may be necessary for the benefit of Said School. This Committee have power to continue until the Town Shall appoint another Suitable Committee in their Stead for the end Aforesaid. Voted — That what the rents & Incomes Set apart for the Support of the before mentioned School as Shall fall Short of paying the School Master, what the Committee shall agree with him for, Shall be paid by the respective Scholars of both Schools, as the Committee Shall annually direct or order, only such poor Schollars as are not able to pay to be excused according to the Direction of the Committee

Vera Copia Attest W Price

Town Clerk

An Account of the Incomes of the Grammar School & Writing School in Salem taken September 24th 1712

Rents of Royalside	£22- 5-6
" " Dixcy's Ferry	3- 0-0
" " Massey's Ferry	10- 0-0
" " Bakers Island	3- 0-0
" " Misery Island	3- 0-0
" " Phippen & Pickering) — 8-0
)
" " for Lands at Bury Point)	
" " Money at Interest £259	
at 6 pr Cent	15-10-9
	—
	57- 4-3
 The Rents of the 70 Acres of Feltons	£1-15-3
" " Lands adjoining to them	1- 4-0
" " Mr Grove Hirst for Ushers House	5-0
" " Joseph Southwick	2-0
" " Gam ¹¹ Hodges for Lane	5-0
" " Thomas Bell	2-6
" " Michael Bacon for Burying Point	1- 8-0

”	”	”	Tarble & Putnams Land	12-0
”	”	”	John Cromwell money at Interest))
”	”	”	£55 at 6 per Cent) 3- 6-0
				£8-19-9

At A Meeting of the Committee for Regulating the Schools in Salem, being all present March 20 1712. Mr. John Higginson Jr is desired & appointed to be Clerk of the Said Committee to make what Entrys and give out such orders as shall be agreed upon from time to time by Said Committee Agreed with Mr John Barnard to keep the Grammer School in Salem for one Quarter of a Year on Tryal for which he is to be paid out of the money appropriated for the use of the Grammer School the sum of Twelve pounds ten Shillings the Quarter to begin the 25th of this month.

At a Meeting of Said Committee June 23d 1712 being all present. Ordered that Mr John Barnard have a order on the Treasurer for the Twelve pounds ten Shillings for his keeping the School from the 25th of March to the 25th of this Instant June. Note Given. And Mr Barnard is desired to Keep the Said School one Quarter of a Year more on the same terms.

Sept 1 1712 agreed with Nathl Higginson to keep a Writing & Cyphering School in the North end of the Town House which is now fitted up for a School for one Quarter of a year from this 1 Day of September, and to be paid for the same Seven Pounds ten Shillings in Money.

An Order Shovel & Tongs

Sept 25 1712 At A Meeting of the Committee they being all present agreed That Mr Nathl Higginson is desired to continue to keep the School till the 25 December and to be paid proportionally. Agreed That the Selectmen be desired to pay Mr John Barnard Twelve pounds ten Shillings in money out of the money appropriated to the use of the Grammar School for the Quarter last past and also to provide a Suitable Chair for the Writing School, a pair of Tongs & fire Shovel, and a pair of Strong Iron Dogs for each School and one Pale & Broom as there may be Occasion.

Scholars to pay 8/ pr annum

Pursuant to the Power & Instructions Given us by the Town of Salem, we have agreed and concluded and do hereby direct that each Scholler that doth or shall belong or go to the Grammar, Writing Cyphering or Reading School which is kept by Mr. John Barnard & Mr Nathl Higginson, Shall from and after the date hereof pay unto their respective Masters after the Rate of Eight Shillings pr annum in money. Viz — Two Shilings at the End of every quarter of a year, that they shall go to Said Schools, and Proportionally for any part of a year, Excepting such poor Scholars as shall be Excused by the Committee from time to time and the School Masters are desired to keep a particular account hereafter when the Schollars enter their Schools and when they leave it and of what money they receive of them, and this to continue till further orders.

The following Schollars are Excused from Paying the 2 Shillings per Quarter. Viz, John Phillips, Bartholmew Brown Saml Jeffers, James Allen, John Sedgewick Caleb Bears. Benjamin Chub Wm Barton, Elias Tosier.

Agreed that the Selectmen are desired to Order the Town Treasurer to pay for the Ringing the School Bell, 12/ pr annum from the first day of March next ensuing to the person that shall Ring the bell.

At A Meeting of the Committee April 2d 1716 Agreed with Mr. John Swinerton to keep the Writing, Cyphering & Reading School, at the School House at the North End of the Town House, for One Year from the 25th March last past to the 25th March next ensuing, on the following Terms Viz—That Each Scholar that comes to Said School (Except Such as are Excepted by the Committee) pay unto said Swinerton the sum of Five Shillings and Sixpence in money at the beginning of each Quarter, and that he be paid out of the money appropriated for the School after the rate of Ten Shillings pr annum for Each Schollar to the number of forty Schollars or after that rate for so many Schollars as there shall be there under that number to be paid Quarterly and for so many as there is above the number of forty to be paid only two Shillings & Six pence pr Quarter by the Schollars and that the Schollars be admitted on the Quarter Days. And that each Schollar that comes

to School in the winter pay to Said Swinerton four Shillings & Sixpence in money or bring three foot of wood, and to be paid for such Schollars as are excepted by the Committee, after the rate of Ten Shillings pr annum out of the School money, and that the Said Swinerton render an account Quarterly to the Committee of the number of Schollars that come to him each Quarter.

June 25 1716 Agreed with Mr. Samuel Andrews to keep the Grammar School at the School House in the Body of the Town for One Quarter of a year from the 25th June Inst for which he is to be paid £12. 10=00 in manner following. Each Scholar, (Excepting Such as are exempted by the Committee) pay Said Andrews 2/6 in money on the Said quarter days, and what that falls short of the sum of 12 pounds 10/ to be paid out of the money appropriated to the use of the Grammer School. Agreed that Mr. William Gedney Town Treasurer Receive of Coll^o Samuel Brown & Capt John Brown Executrs to the last will and testament of Hon William Browne Esq deceased, the Lagacie of one Hundred pounds, given by him for the use of the Grammar School in the bodie of the Town of Salem, and that he give them a Discharge for the Same, and let the money out to Interest as Soon as may be for the use aforesaid.

July 23d 1718 Mr John Nutting the Latin School Master Came and Entered on his work of Teaching School here at Seventy Pounds pr Annum for One Year Possession Given him of the School & Scholars, by Samuel Brown Esq & Stephen Sewall, two of the Committee. The agreement being made with him about the Eight of July at a full meeting of the Committee.

Salem 12 Feby 1718/19

Memorandum of Stock belonging to the School at Interest,
Viz

Nich ^o Trask of Salem	£24- 0-0	
Jon ^a Kenney of Salem	50- 0-0	Silver
Ephraim Curtice of Boxford deceased	17-10-0	Money
Humphry Case Junr Salem	18-00-0	109-10-0

Daniel Epes, Esq of Salem	50-	0-0	Cur ^t Money
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Joseph Hascoll of Gloucester Dec ^a	£10-	0-0
Daniel Mansfield Lynn	30-	0-0
Capt John Cogswell Ipswich Dec ^a	50-	0-0
Joseph English Salem	20-	0-0
Benjamin Porter Boxford	25-	0-0
Samuel Goodale Salem	50-	0-0
Capt John Abbot Salem	33-	0-0
John Bradstreet Topsfield	55-	0-0
James Putnam Salem	25-	0-0

298-	0-0	Provine bills of credit
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At 6 pr Cent pr Annum	457	-0-0
To the Interest of 457-0-0 @ pr cent	27	9 0

Ryal Side

(Jonathan

Batchelder £5-11-0	Jon Green	£5-11-0)
) £22-5-6
(Samuel Leach 5-11-0	Nathl Tomkins	5-11-0)

Ferries

Nathl Massey £10-0-0	John Dixey 5 to pr annum	£15-0-0
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Islands

Col Turner for Bakers Island £3- -)		
)	6-0-0
And Mr. Marston	£3- -)	

Small Rents

The 70 Acres,

Nathl Felton 11/9	Nathl Felton Jr 11/9)		
Robert Wilson 8/9	Thorndike Proctor 3/)	£1-15-3	
The Mirey Swamp Jn Holton 3/	Hen Holten 3/)		
Saml Felton 3/	Jun ^o Preston 3/	Robert Wilson 3/)	£1-4-0
Nathl Felton 3/	Saml Nurse 3/	Skelton Felton 3/)	

Total	£73-13-9
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Joseph Thrasher for Mr. Hersts Lease	5-0
Joseph Southwick 2/ pr annum	2-0
Gamliel Hodges for Lane	5-0
James Lindall for Phippen & Pickering	8-0
Thomas Bell	2-6
Mihill Bacon bury place	1-8-0
John Trask for his Mall	3-0
Jno Tarble & Jn ^o Putnam for Land	12-0
Jon ^a Pudney for Land	4-0
John Holmes for Land	8-0
Israel Andrews for Lane	2-0
John Tarble Jr for Land	14-0

	£78-7-3

At a Committee Meeting for the Schools in Salem Octr 6 1719. Present Coll^o Samuel Browne, Esq, Josiah Walcott Esqr & Stephen Sewall, Whereas, Capt John Browne Esqr late of Salem Dec^d by his last Will & Testament Gave and bequeathed unto the Grammar School in Salem the Sum of Twenty five Pounds. Ordered, That an Order Goe forth to Col Samuel Brown Esqr Executr to the last will & Testament of the aforesaid John Browne Esqr Dec^d for the Payment of the Said Sum of Twenty five Pounds, unto William Gedney Esqr Treasurer for Said School, for the use thereof, and that he Give an ample release or Discharge for the Same on Receipt thereof.

March 18 1727/28 At A General Town Meeting Legally Assembled Capt Peter Osgood Moderator Voted, In answer to the Petition of the Inhabitants in the Village & Midle Precent & in the Rev. Mr. Chipmans Parish, as also the Petition of Mr. John Gerrish, Master of the Writing School Within the Bridge. That the former Allowance be continued to each of them for three Years longer to be paid them out of the Town Treasury Yearly for Said Term, towards the Support of the Schools amongst them in their respective Districts.

A True Copie Attest
 Thos Barton
 Town Clerk

March 23 1728/9 At A General Town Meeting legally Assembled The Hon. Samuel Brown Esqr Moderator. The Petition of Mr. John Nutting, Master of the Grammar School being read & duly Considered. Voted — That there be paid out of the Town Treasury to Mr. John Nutting the sum of Twenty Pounds pr Annum for the Space of five years next ensuing as a further encouragement & allowance to him for his keeping Said School, but if he Should leave Keeping Said School then the aforesaid sum to be paid into the Treasury for the School to be improved as the Town or Committee shall then order about getting another School Master.

Browne's Legacy &c

The Town Entering upon Consideration of the affair for encouraging of Schools in this Town, as mentioned in the Warrant. The Honorable Coll^o Browne is pleased to take this Opportunity not only as Moderator Recommending to the Whole Town how much it is for their Honor and Interest to be always ready & cheerfull to the Supporting of Schools for the Education of Children & also acquainted them what it is the Good Laws of the Province mean and Expect from them, but also to Express his own thoughts & Concern for the same. And for a more sensible Manifestation thereof is Pleased now to offer to the Towns Acceptance a free Gift & Grant of three Several Sums of Money towards the Support of three Schools for the Education of children in the Bodie of this Town, amounting to the Sum of Two Hundred & Forty Pounds, as followeth.

Firstly — He Gives & Grants to the Grammar School in Salem to be kept in or near the Town House Street in Salem, now so called, being in the body of the Town ONE HUNDRED & TWENTY POUNDS.

Secondly — He gives & Grants unto the Reading, Writing & Cyphering School in Salem to be kept in or near the Town House Street in Salem, now so called being in the Bodie of the Town SIXTY POUNDS

Thirdly — He Gives & Grants unto a Womans School in Salem to be kept by a Suitable Honest Sober Woman in or near the Town House Street in Salem, now so being in the Bodie of the Town, SIXTY POUNDS. And these Sums

to be particularly improved for their respective ends & use according to the Directions Given in the Several Grants from under his hand as hereafter Recorded May at large appear. Whereupon the Selectmen for themselves as well as on behalf of the Town did immediately Signifie their Greatfull Acceptance and hearty thanks for so Generous and Honorable a Gift.

The Honorable Judge Lynde Also in a more particular Manner Expressing his thankfullness to the Moderator for So Bountifull & Generous a Donation Asked Liberty to Call for a Vote of thanks from the Whole Assembly, which accordingly was done by a very Cheerful lifting up of Hands, none Excepted.

Lynde's Lagacy

Mr. Benjamin Lynde Junr whom the Towne was pleased the last year to make choice of for their Treasurer and voted him Twelve Pounds for his service, Takes this Opportunity to return the Said Twelve Pounds to them again with an addition of Eight pounds more which makes up the sum of Twenty Pounds if the Town please to accept of the Same towards A Grammar School in the Bodie of the Town. on the Termes Given as by a Instrument from under his hand hereafter Recorded May appear. To Whom also the Selectmen and whole assembly did immediately signify their ready

Acceptance and hearty thanks therefor.

Voted — The Hon Col^o Brown, Benjamin Lynde, Esq Dr. Thomas Robie, Mr. Benjamin Lynde Junr & Thomas Barton, Chosen & appointed a Committee, they or the Major part of them to take care of & mannage the affairs of the Grammar School, and also the affair of the Reading writing & Cyphering School in the Bodie of the Town of Salem, from time to time, and on a vacancy of a School Master to either School to provide another School master Suitable for Said Service, and to agree with him or them on the best Termes they can for their Support, or Salary which is to be paid out of the Rents appropriated by the Town to the Schools, and also by the Interest of Such Legacies and Donations as has been made to Said Schools, as also out of which sum or Sums of money as are ordered & voted to be

paid to Said Schools or Town Treasurer out of the Town Stock of Money already Granted or to be raised hereafter for that End, and purpose. And all Rents and Appropriations of Lands formily Set apart & Granted to Said Schools are hereby further ratified & Conformed to the Said Schools; and the Town Treasurer for the Time being is to take care to Gett in and Collect Said Rents & Revenues according to the Moneys they were Leased for with the advice & Directions of the Committee. This Committee's power to Continue till the Town Shall Order & Appoint another Committee in their room & Stead, for the Ends aforesaid.

Doings of the Town in relations to Mr. Browne's Donations to the Schools

Voted — That whereas the Honorable Samuel Brown Esq hath this Day Given Some Hansome & Honorable Donations to Three Schools Kept or to be Kept in or near the Town House Street in Salem, for the Teaching of Poor Scholars and desiring the Town to appoint & order some persons to Receive the Same and Give Receipts to him for the Three Several Donations or Sums of Money Give by him for the Ends & uses mentioned in his Gifts and under the Same Regulations. It is therefore Ordered and desired that the Hon^l Benjamin Lynde Esqr, Dr^r Thomas Robie & Mr. Thomas Barton be a Committee, to waite on the Hon^l Coll^o Brown, and Receive the Said Moneys and Give Receipts accordingly. And the Said Moneys when received to be improved and put out to interist by the Town Treasurer for the time being with the advice of the School Committee agreeable to Coll^o Brown's desire, for the Ends & Uses for which it is given.

The Honorable Coll^o Browne's Gifts to the Schools Salem
March 13th 1728/9

Samuel Browne of Salem in the County of Essex in New England, Gives & Grants unto the Grammar School in Salem to be kept in or near the Town House Street, now so called being in the Body of the Town, One Hundred & Twenty Pounds, Passable Moneys to Make the Same a free School, or towards the Educating of Eight or Ten Poor Schollars Yearly in the Grammar Learning or the Mathamaticks. Viz,

the Marriners Art, the Said Sum of One Hundred & Twenty Pounds to be lett out at Interest on very Good Personall Securitie the Interest, or Incom thereof to be improved Only for that End & Use *for ever*, as a Committee Chosen by the Town of Salem for the taking care of Said School from time to time may Order or Direct, with the advice of the Minister or Ministers of the first Church in Salem and Myself or Children, or two of the Chief of their Posteritie and that there be Speedyly Orders & Directions from the Town Given to Some particular persons to Receive the Said Money. and Give a Receipt for the Same for the End and Use aforesaid.

Samuel Browne

Samuel Brown of Salem In the County of Essex in New England, Gives & Grants unto the Reading Writing & Cyphering School in Salem, to be kept in or near the Town House Street in Salem, now so Called being in the Body of the Town, Sixty Pounds, passable money towards making the Same a free School, or for Learning Six Poor Schollars Yearly as aforesaid, at the Said School, the Said Sum of Sixty Pounds to be lett out at Interest on very good personal Securitie the Interest or Income thereof to be improved only for that End & use forever, as a Committee Chosen and Appointed by the Town of Salem for taking Care of the Grammer School from Time to Time may order & Direct with the advice of the Minister or Ministers of the first Church in Salem, and Myself or children or two of the chief of their Posteritie, and that there be Speedyly Orders & Directions from the Town Given to Some particular persons to receive the Said Money & Give a receipt for the Same for the End and Use aforesaid.

Samuel Brown

Salem March 13th 1728/9

Samuel Browne of Salem in the County of Essex in New England, Gives & Grants unto a Woman School in Salem to be kept by a Sutable, Honest & Sober Woman in or near the Town House Street in Salem, now so called being in the Bodie of the Town, Sixty Pounds passable money, which is to be lett out at Interest on very good personal Security. The Interest or Income thereof to be Yearly Improved for the Learning of Six very poor Children their

letters & to Spell and read, who may be sent to Said School Six or Seven Months in the Year Viz— Some time from the first of April to the first of October Yearly as a Committee Chosen and appointed by the Town of Salem for the taking Care of the Grammar School from time to time may order & Direct, with the advice of the Minister or Ministers of the first Church in Salem and Myself or Children or two of their posterite and that there be Speedyly Orders & Directions from the Town Given to Some particular persons to receive the Said money and Give a Receipt for the Same, for the End & Use aforesaid.

Salem March 13th 1728/9

Samuel Browne

Mr. Benjamin Lynde Jun^r Gift to the Grammar School.

Whereas this Town when they chose me Treasurer in May last, also voted me Twelve Pounds for my Services for the year 1728. Which Sum, tho' it was not equal to the Great Care & necessary trouble arrising from the faithfull Discharge of Said Office, Yet being importuned by many whom I would willingly oblige and to Serve the Town as far as I was Capable. I Entered on the Said Service, and having now accomplished the Same I return the Said Twelve Pounds to the Town together with the addition of Eight Pounds more to make it Twenty Pounds, if they please to accept it on the following Terms, Viz— I Give unto the Grammar School in Salem to be kept in or near where it now is,— The Sum of Twenty Pounds, to be put into the hands of a Committee to be Chosen to take care of and manage the affairs of the Grammar School, and to be lett out for Said Use, The Incom or Interest thereof to Go towards the Keeping and Maintaining a Grammar School Master in Said School.

Salem March 1728/9 Benjamin Lynde Jr.
The above & foregoing are True Copies as they Stand entered on Town Records.

Examined by Thomas Barton
Town Clerk

May 10 1729 At A Meeting of the School Committee present Benjⁿ Lynde Esq. Col. Samuel Browne Dr. Thomas Robie, Mr. Benjamin Lynde Jun^r & Thomas Barton Ordered that a Book proper for keeping the School affairs &

Records of the Same be provided, and the Selectmen be desired to Order the pay for it. Ordered, The Committee having Received of Benjamin Lynde Jun^r His Gift of Twenty Pounds to the Grammar School in Salem, Do now deliver it to the Treasurer for the School. Viz — The Said Benjamin Lynde Jun^r [gift] to be improved for the End & use for which the Said Donation was made. Ordered Thomas Barton is appointed and Desired to officiate as Clerk to this Committee.

July 16 1729 Ordered The Hon^r Benjamin Lynde Esq Dr Tho^s Robie & Thomas Barton, as a Committee Chosen by the Town at the last March Meeting have this day Rece^d of the Honorable Col Brown his Donation to the three Schools Kept or to be Kept in the body of the Town, Viz— One hundred & Twenty Pounds to the Grammar School, Sixty Pounds to the Reading Writing & Cyphering School and Sixty Pounds more to a Woman School in all amounting to the Sum of Two Hundred & Forty Pounds, and this day have also paid & Delivered the Same unto Benjamin Lynde Jun^r Esq Town Treasurer, and by him to be improved and put out to Interest on Good personal Securitie with Sureties for the use & benefit of Said Schools according to the desire of Coll^o Browne & with the advice of the School Committee.

We the Subscribers being a Committee Chosen and appointed by the Town of Salem at their Meeting Legally assembled March 13th 1728/9 who are empowered to Receive the Donation made & Given by the Honorable Samuel Browne, Esq to the Grammar School to be kept in the Bodie of the Town of Salem, Do hereby acknowledge to have had & received of the Said Samuel Browne One Hundred & Twenty Pounds passable Money Viz— Public Bills of Credit of this Province for the Service & benefit of Said School to be improved according to Said Browns Directions Regulations Limitations Ends & Use, mentioned by him in his Gift to Said School, and Recorded in the Town Book Received in Salem New England July 16th 1729

Benjⁿ Lynde (Thomas Robie (Thomas Barton (Committee

We the Subscribers being a Committee chosen, and appointed by the Town of Salem at their Meeting legally assembled March 13th 1728/9 who are impowered to Receive the Donation Made & Given by the Hon Samuel Browne Esq to a Womans School to be kept in the Bodie of the Town of Salem. Do hereby acknowledge to have had & Received of the Said Samuel Brown Esq Sixty Pounds in passable Money. Viz—in Public Bills of Credit of the Province for the Service & benefit of Said School to be improved according to Said Browne's Directions, Regulations Limitations Ends & Use mentioned by him in his Gift to Said School and recorded in the Town Book. We say received in Salem New England July 16th 1729

Benjamin Lynde (

)

Thomas Robie (Committee

)

Thomas Barton (

)

We the Subscribers being a Committee Chosen and Impowered by the Town of Salem at their Meeting legaly assembled March 13th 1728/9 who are impowered to receive the Donation made & Given by the Honorable Samuel Browne, Esq to the Reading Writing and Cyphering School to be Kept in the Body of the Town of Salem. Do hereby acknowledge to have had & received of the Said Samuel Brown Esq Sixty Pounds, in passable money Viz—Public bills of Credit of this Province for the Service & Benefit of Said School to be improved according to Said Browne's Donation, Regulations Limitations End & Use mentioned by him in his Gift to Said School, and Recorded in the Town Book, — We Say received in Salem New England July 16th 1729

Benjamin Lynde (

)

Thomas Robie (Committee

)

Thomas Barton (

)

Received of Benjamin Lynde Esq. Dr. Thomas Robie & Dr. Thomas Barton a Committee appointed for the receiving of the Several Donations made & Given by The Hon Samuel Browne Esq to the three Several Schools in the Town of

Salem. The Sum of Two Hundred & Forty Pounds in Public bills of Credit of this Province Viz One Hundred & Twenty Pounds, being the Gift to the Grammar School. Also Sixty Pounds for the Reading Writing and Cyphering School, and Sixty Pounds more being the Gift & Donation to a Womans School, all which Sums are to be improved and put out to Interest at & with the advice of the School Committee agreeable to Col Browne's desire & for the Ends & Uses for which they are Given

Salem July 16th 1729

Benjamin Lynde Town Treasurer

Received of the Committee appointed for Managing the affairs of the Grammar School in the Body of the Town of Salem the Sum of Twenty Pounds bills of Credit, it being the Gift of Benjamin Lynde Jr to Said School and to be lett out & improved for the End and Use in Said Donation I say Received Salem May 10th 1729.

Benjamin Lynde Town Treasurer

The above and foregoing Rece^{ts} are true Copies as they stand entered on Town Records.

Examined Tho^s Barton Town Clerk

Rents in Relation to the School Funds &c

April 8 1730 At A Meeting of the Committee, present Judge Lynde, Col Browne, Benjamin Lynde Jr. Mr. Sewall & Thomas Barton. Ordered, — The Town having Voted at a Meeting March 13th 1728/9 — That the Rents appropriated to the Schools be Colected & Received by the Town Treasurer, according to the Moneys they were Leased for, taking the advice & Directions of the Committee of the Schools, whereof having Considered the Ancient Leases of Royal Side the Misery & Bakers Islands, and finding they were Leased about the Year 1677/8 — for so much to be paid in money which in the years of making these Leases was only in Silver Money @ 17 Disct at Least, and having also Considered Mr. Lindalls Lease of Land by the Burying place Leased to Capt Bowditch 1680 The Committee are of advice & Direct the Town Treasurer for the time being to Collect & Receive the Said Rents in Such Money as Specified in these Leases or an Equivalant thereto which the Committee are of Opinion cannot be less than 100 pr Ct Differance between that Money and the present Bills of

Credit. This Direction to be for the Rent of this present Year until further Order.

Ordered The Committee having Considered the Leases of the 70 Acres and the Miery Swamp which were appropriated to the Writing School Ann° 1712. Do Advise & Direct on the Same, that these be also paid & Received in Currant Money, or in the same proportion and difference of Money, that the Grammar School rents are to be received in.

April 10 Ordered. The Committee in taking an account of the Several Bonds of for Money let out for the use of the Schools, Do find that the bond of Daniel Epes Sen^r Gen^t was for £50 Current Money of New England & altho the Bond was dated 1718. they find by the Books it was the renewall of a Bond for £50 Given A D 1707. without any difference or allowance on the money. The Committee are of Opinion that the Said with Interest ought to be paid in Money, or if in the present Bills of Credit with the advance of 50 prct. And it is desired that Mr. Lynde Jr. & Thomas Barton do forthwith acquaint Major Epes thereof. And Know his Mind on the Same, in order to the Committees taking further Measures thereon.

Jany 24 1732/3 At A Meeting of the Committee Present, Judge Lynde, Benjamin Lynde Esqr Capt Higginson & Thomas Barton. Ordered. The Committee present having now received of Mess^{rs} Samuel & Williard Browne Execu^t to the Honorable Samuel Browne Esqr late deceased. The Sum of One Hundred & Fifty Pounds Which by his last Will was pleased To Give as a further encouragement for the Instruction of Children, to the three Schools, within the Body of the Town. Have delivered the Same unto Benjamin Lynde Esqr Town Treasury to be improved accordingly.

Items to Mr. Browns Will

1st Item. I Give to the Grammar School Fifty Pounds, to be under the Reshervations Regulations as my Donations is which I have already Given.

2nd Item. I give to the Reading & Writing School Fifty Pounds to be also under the Regulations as my Donation is which I have already Given to Said School.

3d Item. I Give to a Woman School for Teaching poor Children, Fifty Pounds, to be under the Same Regulations & Restrictions as my Donation which I have formily Given.

Receipt of the £150 Browne's Legacy

Received of the Committee of the Schools in Salem Bills of Credit One Hundred & Fifty Pounds, being the Legacy left by the Honorable Samuel Browne Esqr Deed To three Several Schools in Salem Viz— Fifty Pounds to the Grammar School, Fifty Pounds, To the Reading Writing & Cyphering School Fifty Pounds, to a Womans School Fifty Pounds. All which Sums are to be improved, and lett out agreeable to the Directions in Coll° Browns Will, for the Ends and Uses therein expressed.

Salem Jany 24th 1732/3

Benjamin Lynde Jr
Town Treasurer

School Committee

The Town at their Meeting March 9th 1752. Made Choice of Benjamin Pickman Esq Mess^{rs} Samuel Gardner, Joshua Ward, Eben^r Putnam Putnam and Stephen Higginson, as a School Committee, empowering them to Mannage the affairs of the Schools in the body of the Town of Salem, to appoint Masters for Said Schools from time, to time, as there shall be occasion, & agree with them for their Salaries and draw on the Treasurer for the Same, and to regulate the Said Schools at their discretion as appears by an attested Transcript of the Town Vote, filed with the School Committees Papers.

This Committee met for the first Time April 15th 1752 and all being present, agreed to the following Articles Viz. That Stephen Higginson, be Clerk of this Committee. That the Clerk, draw on the Town Treasurer to pay to Mr. Jonathan Sewall or order £13-6-8 for keeping the Grammar School. The three months ending the 24th March last, and to Mr. William Gale Six Pounds thirteen Shillings & four pence, for _____ Keeping the reading, Writing & Cyphering School three months ending the 25th March last. The above Orders were drawn accordingly April 16th and delivered to the respective Masters. That On & after the first day of May next no Scholars Shall be Continued or admitted into

the Grammar School but Such as are Sent to be Learnt Latin. That, from and after the first of May next each Scholar of the Grammar School Shall pay to the Master 6/ LM. every quarter, which, the Said Master is hereby desired and directed to receive, in part of his Salary, and to account with the School Committee, for it, quarterly and the Said Master is hereby further directed not to Continue in his School any Scholar from whom the above Sum is not paid within the quarter for which it is due. That, Mr. Sewall be and hereby is directed to Employ the Grammar Schools in Writing reading & Cyphering as often as he may think it Expedient. That No Scholars be Continued or admitted after the first of May next, but Such as are Children of the Inhabitants of the Town. That — Mr. Sewall be and hereby is desired to Give timely notice to the Scholars of these regulations and that for this end the Clerk is desired to furnish him with a Copy of this and the four proceeding Articles. Delivered Mr. Sewall an Attested Copy as above April 16th 1752.

Incom of the donations to go to the School Masters

At A Meeting of the School Committee at the House of the Hon. William Browne Esq Oct^r 12th 1752 Present all the Committee & Mr. Browne.

Agreed, — That the Masters of the Reading Writing & Cyphering Schools are paid by the Town, the Interest for this year, of those Donations which are appropriated by the Donors to this school, be applied to the buying wood for Such of the Scholars as the Committee together with Mr. Browne Shall think Suitable.

At A Meeting of the School Committee at the House of Hon Wm. Browne Esq Jany 16 1753. Present Mr. Browne, Mr. Samuel Gardner, Dr. Putnam & S. Higginson — Agreed, The income of the other Donations appearing to have been carried to the Town's General Stock in the Treasury,— Agreed — That one Years Interest of the Donation of the Honorable Samuel Browne, deceased, for the benefit of Poor Children at the Writing Reading & Cyphering School in this Town, which appears to us to be £20-5-0- be applied to the paying fire money to the following Children Viz—

Edward Rose, Nathaniel Glover, William Osborn, Thomas Rue, Benjamin Knight, Joseph Browne, John Terent, Zech' Curtice, John Pierce, Benj" Diamond, Henry Coffin Samuel Fiske, John Fiske, Jo" Fiske, John Gerrish, William Campbell, Gidney King, John Gray. And an Order was accordingly drawn of the Treasurer payable to Mess^{rs} Abijah Hunt and William Gale, Signed by all present as above Trustees. Agreed — That the Rev Mr. Sparhawk's Sons that are or may be at the Grammar School be Excused from paying the Dollar a quarter Each for the present Quarter & for the future. And the Clerk is hereby desired to inform Mr. Sewall of the Resolution Immediately.

James Ford appointed Master of Writing School

Mr. James Ford was agreed by consent of all the School Committee to Keep the Reading Writing and Cyphering School in this Town, for one Year beginning the 9th of May 1757, and to have fifty three pounds Six Shillings & Eight,— Salary. And Mr. Eben' Bowditch Jr. to be his Usher at Forty Pounds a Year Salary, agreed with for half a Year from the 10th of May, Inst

At A Meeting of the School Committee Feby 21st 1760. All present but Mr. Gardner. Upon the application of Mr. Ford, & in consideration of the Great rise of the necessaries of Life — Voted, That he be allowed Six pounds thirteen Shillings and four pence, in addition to what he has already received in the Year past. And that his Salary be raised to Sixty Six pounds thirteen Shillings & four pence for the ensuing Year Beginning the 9th Inst.

The Town at their Meeting March 11th 1771 made Choice of Edward Augustus Holyoke Esq Mess^{rs} Warwick Palfray John Pickering, Henry Gardner, and Nathan Goodale, as a School Committee for the Year ensuing impowering them to manage the affairs of the Schools as to them may seem necessary & Expedient for the Instruction of the Youth of Said Town

The Committee above named met for the first time March 25th 1771. Agreed that Nathan Goodale be clerk of this Committee. That the Clerk be, and hereby is, impowered to draw on the Treasurer for the payment of the Masters Salaries as they may become due, also for any other Sums

of Money that may become due for any Supplies to the Schools, or work done on the House.

Orders of School Committee

The Town of Salem, At their meeting March 8th 1773, Made choice of Benjamin Pickman, Jr Esq Mr. John Pickering, Jr, Mr. John Appleton, Mr. William Northey, & Mr. Stephen Higginson, as a School Committee for the Year ensuing, empowering them to manage the affairs of the Schools as to them may seem necessary & Expedient, for the Interest & instruction of the Youth of Said Town. The Committee above mentioned were also impowered to Enquire into the State of the Several Legacies and Donations of Col Samuel Browne, to the Several Schools in Said Town, and report the Same to the Town at May Meeting next Coming. Voted — that the School Committee for the Year ensuing be directed not to increase the Salaries of the Grammar School Master, and that it be the Same as last year. Viz Sixty Six pounds 13/4 pr annum.

March 18th 1773 The above named Committee for the first time, and all present excepting Mr. Pickering agreed That S. Higginson be clerk of the Committee, &c Voted — That the Bell belonging to the Schools which has for some time past, been unhung, and laid aside be fitted up & hung anew, and that Col Pickering & Mr. Northey be desired to employ some proper person to do it.

Disposition of the Browne Legacies to the Several Schools

At A Meeting of the School Committee together with Col Browne, and the Ministers of the first Church on the 26th March 1773, at the Grammar School House. Agreed That the Interest of the Donation & Legacy of the late Hon Samuel Browne Esq to the Grammar School being about thirteen pounds pr annum, & also the Interest of his Donation & Legacy to the Writing & Cyphering School, being about Eight pounds pr annum, be Given and allowed to Mr. Steward the present Master of the Grammar School in consideration of which He is to teach Six poor Boys Such as the Committee shall direct in the Mariners Art, and also Six other poor boys to write & Cypher three Evenings in a week from the first of November to the first of March.

Beginning the School at Six, and ending at nine Oclock in the Evening. They finding the wood & candles that may be necessary. The School to be Kept at the Grammar School House.

Voted That the Interest of Said Brownes Donation & Legacy to a Womans Reading School being about £8-14-pr annum be given to Mrs. Mary Gill for which She is to teach Nine poor Boys to Spell & Read, the Year through, and to find them in fireing during the Winter, providing She admits but Sixteen other Scholars into her school. We the Subscribers advise to the above Order.

Asa Dunbar

Wm. Browne, One of the Posterity of the Donor

The Committee met the 8th of May 1773, & agreed that the following named Boys be put at the Charity School kept by Mrs. Gill, and there taught for Six months from the 10th Inst Viz — William Rowell, Jonathan Allen, John Millet, Samuel Clemons, Thomas Griffin, Amos Jacobs, John Jacobs, and _____ Doyal

At A Meeting of the School Committee at Mr. Goodhue's on Saturday Decr 18th 1773, Present Mr. Pickering Mr. Appleton, & Mr. Higginson. The following notification was agreed upon & Ordered to be published in next weeks Papers. The School Committee Give notice that a *Free* School will be kept by Master Steward at the Grammar School House on every Monday, Wednesday & Friday evening from the first of January to the first of April next, for teaching Six Poor Youth the Mariners Art, also Six poor Lads to write & Cypher, which School is Supported by the Generas Donation & Legacy of the late Honorable Samuel Browne, Esq. Such poor persons as would receive the benefit of this School are desired to meet the Committee at Mr. Goodhues on Monday next at Six Oclock in the Evening. Salem Decr 21 — 1773.

23d This Day the Committee met at Mr. Goodhues, and agreed that the Evening School Kept by Mr. Steward for teaching Six Poor Boys to write & Cypher, also Six other the art of Navagation, be opened the Instant and that the boys hereafter named be admitted to said School. Viz—

Names of Boys who had the advantage of the School Fund

To learn writing & Cyphering	To learn Navagation
Tobias Smethurst	Thomas Webb
William Mugford	Nathaniel Brookhouse
William Woodbridge	Peter Smethurst

May 17 1774 An Order was this day Drawn upon the Town Treasury, in favour of Mrs. Mary Gill, for one Quarter Salary, being Two pounds, 3/6, being the Interest of Money Given by the late Samuel Browne, Esq to a Woman's School.

July 29 1780 Eight Hundred Pounds was Paid Antapast Steward for One Quarter Salary, (School Master) in consequence of the advanced Prices of the Necessaries of life.

Doing of the School Committee in relation the removal of Master Rogers from the Grammar School

At A Meeting of the School Committee Decr 22 1796 at the Court House to take into Consideration the Present State of the Grammar School. It was unanimously Voted, that the Committee Think it inexpedient for Mr. N. Rogers to be continuued in the Grammar School any longer than the first of April next. Voted — That a Committee be chosen to acquaint Mr. Rogers therewith immediately and to engage another Master to take Charge of the Grammar School, when Mr. Rogers leaves it. Voted, That the Committee consist of Five Persons, Viz — Mr. J Treadwell, Mr. E Puling, Mr. W. Prescott, Mr. J. Norris & Mr. J Jenks.

Jany 2d 1797. The Sub Committee waited on Mr. Rogers and Gave him notice as proposed in the meeting of the 22 Decr and made an agreement with him to continue in the School untill the 31st of March next unless some particular circumstance Should require Mr. Roger's resigning the School at an earlier period on account of the Person the Committee may engage to take charge of the Grammar School. Mr. Rogers agreed to Give up the School on the 31st March or any time previous thereto if more accomodating to them.

Feby 11th The clerk Gave Mr. Rogers notice that the Committee had engaged a Master for the Grammar School, and that he was requested to Give up the School on the last of this month.

March 2d E Pulling Wm. Prescott Col J Hathorne & Mr. John Jenk, being part of the School Committee waited upon Mr. David Kendall, and introduced him to, and Give him charge of the Grammar School.

At A Meeting of the School Committee August 1st 1791
Voted — to purchas Seventeen cords of wood for the use
of the Town Schools. Also voted — That the Reading &
Writing Masters be directed to procure at the Town's Ex-
pense a Sufficient number of Spelling Books, to Supply all
the *Paupers* in their respective Schools.

Doing of the School Committee in relation to Daniel Cook
who fired the Grammar School House

Feby 5th 1798 The School Committee met this Evening at the Court House Chamber all present excepting J Treadwell J Norric E Pulling & J Jenks. After hearing the circumstance of the Fire on Wednesday last at the Centrel School house related by George Carpenter & Henry Prince, accompanied with the Confession of Daniel Cook, That he put fire into a hole in the Chamber Floor of the Grammar School and in Consequence of the fire the School house & Library were much Damaged. —

The Committee are of Opinion that some Public Measure ought to be taken, thereupon, and that it may have a Good effect upon the Minds of the Scholars, and deter others from Such unwarantable & dangerous Conduct. — Voted — That Daniel Cook Son of Mr. Stephen Cook, be for the present Suspended from all the Public Schools And, That Mr. Daniel Kendall, the Grammaster be informed of the Vote.— And that he be desired fully to Comply with it.— And in the presence of the School to Suspend the Said Daniel Cook, from the Public Schools. Mr. Beckford, Mr. Ashton & Dea Holman, were desired to inform Mr. S Cook that Mr. Kendall in the Suspension of his Son had acted agreeable to his Orders received from the Committee.

Feby 5th 1799 The School Committee this day agreed with Mr. Daniel Parker of Haverhill to take Charge of the Grammar School, which he accepted & on Tuesday 5 of Feby he took charg of the School

1800 — The Salaries of the Clergy for this Year Viz —

Rev John Prince	£284-0-0
Thomas Barnard	223-6-8
Daniel Hopkins	195- " "
N Fisher	150- " "
J Spaulding	170- " "
Wm. Bently	160- " "

1128-6-8

Salary of the Grammar Master

Average £197-1-1 $\frac{1}{4}$ Which Gives Mr. Parkers Salary \$656-85

April 24th 1801 The School Committee on Examination having found the Schools of the Several Writing Masters so cramed as to put it out of the power of the Masters to pay proper attention to their Schools. Thereupon, Voted, That the Committee employ three School Mistresses. One in Each School District, to instruct the Small Children in reading and that no children be admitted into the Schools who are under five years of age. Voted — that Each Sub Committee be requested to apply to Some person in their District Suitable for a School Mistress, enquire her tirms and report to the Committee at the adjornment of this Meeting.

May 12 — The Committee were warned to meet at the Courthouse this evening at 7 Oclock, upon Business of the Schools. Accordingly they met and there were present Benj^a Pickman Esq J Norris Esq Jos Perkins Esq Dr. Little Mr. Savage Mr. W Peale Dr. Oliver Col Hathorne & J Jenks.

Order of the School Committee In Establishing three Female Schools

The sub-committee reported that they had enquired & found that Mrs. Holman, wife of Mr. Wm. Holman, in the West Dist' The Widow H. Lamperell in the Center District and Miss Mary Carlton in the Eastern District, would

take charge of the Schools proposed to be opened for teaching Young Children of both sexes to read. That the Instructors in the Western & Center District find their own Rooms, for the Schools, and that the School in the Eastern District be kept in a part of the East School House. Also agree that these Schools Should be furnished with Four Cords of Wood Each and with Benches for the Children & with 24 Primmers. Voted — That the Sub-committee agree with & Appoint the Female Instructors for these Schools, and that their Salaries be One Hundred Dollars, a Year and that they observe the same hours for Keeping their Schools as the Writing Schools. Voted. That after the Committee have agree with the Instructors, that notice be Given to the Inhabitants in the Salem News Papers that Schools are Opened for teaching Young Children of Both Sexes to read, but that none under five Years Old will bee admitted Voted. — That the Several Writing Masters be authorized to turn over to the Woman Schools Such Scholars as they find are not qualified as to their reading to attend the Masters Schools.

N B — The School Committee are authorized to open Schools for Teaching Young Children to read, and to employ Female Instructors therefor: by a Vote. Passed in Town Meeting May 11th 1801.

Names of 3 Woman School Instructors

14 — Dr. M. Little reported that Miss Mary Carlton was engaged for the School in the East end of the School house upon the Common & that the room will be prepared and the Instructress ready to begin on Monday next. Col Pickman Reported that Mrs. Mary Holman was engaged, for the West end of the Town. Eben' Beckford Esq Reported that Mrs. H. Lamperel was engaged for the Center of the Town. Notice of these three Schools was Given by an advertisement in the Salem Papers. Viz — Those who wish their Children to have the Benefit of these Schools, have now an opportunity of Sending them. The School Committee will not permit any Children under five Years of age to attend these Schools.

September 1st 1821 At a Legal Town Meeting of the Inhabitants of Salem, Saml Ropes Esq was chosen Modera-

tor. It was Voted, That the School Committee be authorized to build a new School house to be built of Wood and to be one Story high in the Western School District. At the request of the School Committee they were Excused from Serving, and it was Voted—that a Committee of five be chosen for the purpose, and the following persons were Chosen Viz —

John H Andrews
George S. Johonot
Philip Chase
Abraham Fostor
James Silver

Voted—that the above Committee be authorized to Draw on the Town Treasurer for the Sums Necessary for the Completion of the Building. At the Same Meeting it was voted —that a Committee be Chosen with authority to Select and procure a Lot of Land and build a new School House to be built of Wood and of Such dementions as may be by them thought advisable in the Eastern School District. Voted—that the Committee consist of

Benjⁿ W. Crowninshield
Perley Putnam
Moses Townsend
George Peirce
Samuel Ropes

Voted—that the Committee be authorized to draw on the Town Treasurer for the Sum of Money necessary for the Building the Same and purchesing land necessary therefor. It was afterward Voted, That the Committee for the West School house be authorized to build of Brick, or Such Materials as they may think most advisable, — Provided the Expense thereof Shall not exceed the Sum of Two Thousand Dollars. Previous to the Meeting at which the above committees were chosen, — A Committee was chosen to Examin, the West School-house, and see if it was fit to repair, and make their report at the Next Town Meeting, — This Committee were

Samuel Endicott
John Foster
Philip Chase
Perley Putnam
Ichabod Nichols jr.

This Committee, A Majority of whom, reported that the School-House might be repaired for about 300 Dollars, (and made by altering the Seats to accomodate 120 Boys) the School house may be made all that the interest of the Town now calls for in that District at the present time. This report having been read, was not accepted by the Town. A Munority of the Committee thought, that the old School house was not worth repairing, and if 300 Dollars was expended upon it, it would be an old house, after it was repaired and it would be but a few Years before it would want as much more laid out on it, and after all, it was not such a building as the interest of that School District now required. After the Town heard the opinion of the munority of the Committee, they determined to build a new School House in that District. — and the bove Committee, (of whom J H. Andrews, was chairman), was raised.

Copy of Letter from S C Phillips To Theodor Eames
Salem April 22d 1829

Theodore Eames Esq

Dear Sir

The School Committee have had under consideration for some time past the Expediency of abolishing Corporal punishment in the Grammar and High Schools. — they learn that in other simalar Schools the Experiment has been fully tried and with success; so much so, that the opinion has been unequivocally expressed that the discipline of such Schools instead of being impaired, has been improved by the Substitution of punishments which have proved to be more congenial to the character and better Suited to the Circumstances of Boys at School.

The School Committee have not deemed it advisable as yet to pass a formal Vote prohibiting the infliction of Corporal punishment; but they have unanimously instructed me to Express their earnest wish that the instructors of the Grammar and High Schools would endeavour to introduce Such an arrangement into their respective Schools, in the belief that it will eventually prove more satisfactory to

the instructors, Gratifying to parents and beneficial to the Scholars.

I am, Sir, Very Respectfully

Your Obedt Servant

Stephen C. Phillips

Chairman of School Committee

A Copy of a Letter from Theodor Eames Esq Master of
the Grammar School, to the School Committee

Salem March 30th 1830

To the School Committee

of the Town of Salem

Gentlemen, The concealed and disingenuous course pursued by the Committee of the last Year in reference to the discipline of the School under my care and which first came to my Knowledge in October last led me to an immediate and fixed determination, to relinquish the office of Instructor in that School, as Speedily as a Just & necessary regard to my own situation and circumstances would permit. I wish it to be distinctly understood that the paramount duty of providing for a dependent family was the sole and only cause that prevented me from passing my resignation to the committee by the Same messenger who brought me the communication in October last.

I then thought, and now think that the passing of the vote in March last prohibiting the inflection of corporal punishment in the Grammar School without preveous Consultation with me on the Subject or an intimation Given me that Such a vote was in Contemplation, and the concealment of it from my knowledge after it was passed, till October, was in the highest degree uncourtious & disrepectfull, was in fact a Gross insult upon me as one of the Instructors of the Public Schools, and an unwarrantable outrage upon my feelings, as an individual, — Add to this the direct falsehood, of which the Chairman of that committee was Guilty, in the communication which he sent me in April last, and his unmanly attempt in October to construe that Communication into an *Order*, to forbear inflicting Corporal punishment in the School, — and a series of Measures is presented which appears to me to be neither dignified nor honorable to that Committee as a body.

The chairman wrote me in April Expressly (I quote his very words, from the letter now before me) *The School Committee have not deemed it advisable as yet to pass a formal Vote prohibiting the infliction of Corporal punishment* and yet at the very moment when he pened that paragraph there existed on the records of the Committee and had been there for More than a Month a *formal & Explicit* vote prohibiting in unqualified terms the inflection of Corporal punishment in the Grammar School, *and he Knew it*

Is this Gentlemen the Kind of intercourse that is proper To be maintained between the Committee and the Instructor of the Public Schools, — Is it a matter of no consequence what the Committee and the Instructor thinks of each other, and how they treat each other, Is Such conduct consistent with that full and unsespecting Confidence, that open ingenuous and fair dealing; that frank and Gentlemanly deportment which I have supposed ought always to Subsist between them; Is the practice of Concealment of dissimulation of downright falsehood the way to cherish and perpetuate between them those sentiments of esteem, of mutual respect and Good will which are so manifestly and essentially necessary to the proper management and success of the Public Schools, — I think not, but if it be so, if such proceedings as I have mentioned indicate truly, the relation that actuly Subsists and ought to Subsist between them — then I regret that I did not Know this Seven Years ago. I should then have learnt in time to have avoided the degradation, that the Instructor of a Public School, is a mere *Slave*, — a *Helot*, to be tasked and hardened and trampled upon by a Sett of petty tyrants, in the shape of School Committee, men who may with impunity turn him handcuffed and fettered into his school room, and if he is not insulted, mocked and Spit upon there it is because his boys possess more dignity of Soul & more manliness of character than his malignant and unfeeling oppresors: What I would ask Could be expected from an Instructor who Could submit to such treatment? With What Sentiments of honor with What principl of vertue, With What pure elevated or Generous feeling Could such a miserable degraded wretch be expected to inspire the Youth who should be committed to his charg? Could *he* teach them Selfrespect at the moment

when he was himself tamely submitting to the Most humiliating imposition? Could *he* teach them to prize the blessings of civil liberty when every movement he mad would be accompanied by the clanking of his own chains? or could he enkindle in their youthfull bosoms, an ambition to aspire to high and honorable Stations in Society? No, Never — It is a Situation in which no man who possess the Soul and Sperate of a man ought to suffer himself to be placed, — Yet this is Substantially the Situation in which it appeared to be the object and intention of the Committee to place me. — and at a time too when it was most ungenerous to do it. They abruptly abolished the only Santion that had ever been relied upon in the School as a dernier resort in case of flagrant and obstinate disobedience without providing any Substitute whatever; and to this not the Slightest intimation has been Given me respecting the course to be pursued in the case above alluded to. *All Corporal Punishment* are forbidden, and there the matter rests: and the Instructor is thrown so far as I can see upon the pity and forbearance of his Scholars! This Covert and Crooked policy appears to me so much the more odious and inexcusable as it was altogether unnecessary. I challang the Committee to show that my conduct as an Instructor of the Grammar School has been such as to Justify them in Supposing that I should not at all times Cheerfully, and heartily cooperate with thim in any measure that should have the prosperity and respectability of the School for their object. That they might have found abler advisers than myself I can easily admit but still I insist that my connexion with the School Gave me a claim which the Committee were not at liberty to disregard to be consulted at least to be informed of a measure so vitially and perhaps fatally affecting the discipline, the order, improvement and value of the School, as the vote of last March. If that Committee passed the vote without consultation, with any one, and without any previous enquiry as to the expediency of the measure, and its probable effect upon the School. then I undertake to Say that they voted with unpardonable rashness, and temerity — and if they did consult with any person or persons on the Subject to the exclusion of the Instructor of the School, which was to be immediately affected by it. —

Then, I have a right to say, and do say that by so doing they forfeited all title to *his* Confidence & respectful consideration. I of course Know that Committee officially only, as a bord of Town officers, and as Such I have Speak of them I Know not the vote or opinion of any individual of them on the measure of which I complain except by conjecture; but I do not believe that those votes were unanimous.—

The terms of this Communication Sufficiently Show that I have sensibly felt the indignity, and wrong which have been done me although feelings of selfrespect have prevented me from making them a Subject either of complaint or conversation in public or private. I have thought it proper thus to apprise the existing Committee of the views and considerations which have induced me to relinquish a Situation which I have occupied for nearly seven Years: and having done this I have only to add, that my connexion with the Grammar School will cease on the seventeenth of April next. Engagements Elsewhere will I expect render it impracticable, for me to extend the time of continueing in the School beyond the period I have mentioned and if an earlier day for leaving it would be more agreeable to the Committee it would be equally Satisfactory to me.

I am &c *Theodore Eames*

The Letter of Mr. Eames having been read and fully Considered by the Committee the following resolutions were unanimously adopted.

Resolved, That the School Committee have perused the Same with Surprise, and regret, and that they cannot refrain from Expressing their full & entire Conviction that the aspersions of the conduct and motives of the Committee, an especially of the Veracity and honor of the Chairman, are indecorous, unjust and Calumnious.

Resolved, that the acrimonious temper and unchristian feelings manifested by Mr. Eames, in that letter are inconsistant with the suitable and faithfull discharge of the duties of his office.

Therefore Resolved, That the Committee feel constrained to put an end to his engagements as a Master of the Grammar School forthwith.

Resolved, — That the Clerk be directed to transmit to Mr. Eames a Copy of the forgoing resolutions

April 1 1830

H J Lord Clerk

The following Gentlemen were on the bord of School Committee this Year, Viz Hon Stephen C Phillips Chairman Nathl L Rogers, Mal^a A. Ward, Ebenezer Shillabar, George Peabody, Rufus Babcock, John Walsh, Joseph Hodges, Rufus Chote, Stephen W Shepard Elisha Mack, Charles Lawrence, Nathaniel Silsbee Jr. Nathl J Lord, Perley Putnam, Caleb Foot, Warwick Palfrey Junr. William E. Hacker, Israel Huntington. The most of the above named Gentlemen Served on the board of School Committee last Year.

Complaint against Master Eames etc

October 23d 1829 At A Meeting of the School Committee On Complaint of Stephen W Shepard, against the Principle of the Grammar School. Voted — That Mr. Eames & Mr. Shepard be notified that a Meeting of the Committee will be held at the Clerk's office tomorrow evening for the purpose of Considering Said Complaint and that they be requested to attend Said Meeting.

24th Committee present — Messrs Phillips Ward, Palfrey Shillabar Chote, Lawrence, Peabody Mack Walsh Roberts & the Clerk the following preamble and votes were passed Whereas Mr. Stephen W Shepard has formely requested the Committee to inquire into the circumstance under which punishment was yesterday inflected on his Son by Mr. Eames instructor of the Grammar School, in Consequence of which request Mr. Eames & Mr. Shepard, have this evening been heard, by the Committee and the Committee are now more than ever convinced of the propriety of dispensing with Corporal punishment in the Grammar & English High School therefor. Voted — That the Order passed March 11 1829, which is in the following words, "That Corporal Punishment be henceforth Entirely Abolished in the Grammar & English High School", Shall be considered hereafter as obligatory in the discipline of Said Schools. Voted That the fore going proceedings be Communicated to Mr. Eames and Mr. Shepard. Voted — That Said Order of March 11th 1829 be communicated to

the Master of the English High School. *Note* The Order of March 11th had never been communicated to either of the Masters.

Signed A Huntington Clerk

1810 June 26 At A Meeting of the School Committee Present — Rev. William Bentley, Chairman, Rev. Edward Turner, Rev. Joshua Spaulding, Rev. Lucius Babbs, Benjamin Crowninshield Esq Jos E Sprague Esq Joshua Dodge John Hathorne Jr. Voted — That a Committee Consisting J Hathorne Jr Jos E Sprague, & Edward Turner, be directed to enquire into the State of the Grammar & of the East Schools, and make their report at the next Quarterly Meeting

July 25 — The above Committee Report, unanimously, that they found the Grammar & East Schools, deficient in Instruction and Discipline and recommended the appointment of other Masters, and the report was unanimously accepted, without debate. And it was Voted Unanimously, that these Schools be discontinued and that the present Masters be recommended to resign, and that the Chairman and Joseph E Sprague. Esq be directed to report to them the will of the Committee, and then report their answer to the Committee, that as early as conveniently might be. Said Schools Might be opened under more able Instructors.

July 27 — Notifications were sent by the Committee to the above Masters, that they would be called upon this day at 6 PM. they were accordingly, and had information of the wishes of the Committee

In relation to the removal of Master Lang

Aug 22 — Mr. Lang returned the Keys of the East School with a letter to the Chairman, and a Meeting of the Committee was this evening Augt —3d Upon reading of the letter agreed that the Subject be referred to a Committee consisting of the chairman, Benjamin Crowninshield, & Jos E Sprague, to provide a Master for the East School, either temporary or permanent as the interest of the School might require and draw for the usual payments. in consequence it was agreed that Dr. Daniel Berry should be the Master for the present, and he was accordingly introduced

by the chairman in the name of the Committee the next day at the usual School terms.

May 6 1817 At A Meeting of the School Committee at B R Nichols office among other things it was Voted That John Prince Jr. Dr. Nathl Peabody and Joseph E Sprague be a Subcommittee to Consider of the Expediency of removing Mr. Gray, and appointing another School Master in his Stead. Also of removing the Center School House, or of Building another

Attest Benjn R, Nichols Clerk

At A Meeting of the School Committee on Friday May 23rd 1817. At B. R. Nichols ofice. Present Daniel A. White, John Pickering John Prince Jr. Nathaniel Peabody Oliver Hubbard Gideon Barstow Stephen White Joseph E Sprague & Benjamin R. Nichols. The Committee appointed upon the Subject of removing Mr. Gray and of a new location of the Center School house made report as follows.

The Sub Committee appointed to Consider of the Expediency of removing Mr. Gray and appointing another School Master in his Stead, also of removing the Center School house or building another report: That they felt it to bee their duty previous to making a report on the Expediency of removing Mr. Gray to Go into a thorough examination of the four English Masters Schools; that they visited Said Schools, without Giving any previous notice to the Instructors; that there were present at the examination of the Eastern School one hundred & forty eight pupils; and Seventy in the Western School; that both Schools were well regulated, and well instructed, in reading, writing Spelling, Arethmetic English Grammar and Geographia; that in the Western School during the last Year there has been Great improvement, and much credit is due to Mr. Sawyer the Instructor. That in the Northfields School there were present at the Examination Sixty nine pupils; that there were large Classes, in all the branches as taught in the other Schools above mentioned. That Said pupils were deficient in reading and in discipline and that they were not Sufficiently thorough in Grammar and Geography; That the Center School under Mr. Gray, there were only forty four pupils present at the Examination Eight of whom

Could neither read or Spell, and ought not to have been received from the Women's Schools; that of the remaining thirty Six, thirty read tolarbly well; Some few of whom Say four or five as well as any in the other Schools; that there was Great want of discipline in the Said School; that there were only five Scholars who had paid any attention to English Grammar and none of these could pars; That there was no class who recited in Geography and the Instructor Manifested apparent *Ignorance* of the mode of Instructing pupils in both Grammar & Geography; That there were but Six Scholars in arithmetic and a small number who wrote; That from the long continued State of this School, all confidence of its being improved under the present Instructor is hopeless. They — Therefore recommend that Mr. Gray be removed from the instruction of Said School, from and after the last day of August next; and that notice thereof be forthwith given to him and a new instructor provided, for Said School. That with respect to a new location of the Center School or building another house it is at this time inexpedient; and that it ought to be posponed untill after the Experiment of a new instructor in the center School, has been provided.

All which is Submitted

Signed John Prince Junr
 Nathaniel Peabody
 Joseph E. Sprague

At A Meeting of the School Committee at B R Nichols office Wednesday Augut 6th 1817 Voted—Unanimously, that Mr. Amory Felton be appointed Instructor of the School now under the Care of Mr. Gray, his term to Commence on the first of September next.

Sept 28 1822 — At A Meeting of the School Committee at the Selectmens room. Voted—that it is the Opinion of the Committee that the present State of the Grammar School is not Such as the Committee have a right to Expect — and that the Sub Committee (Judge Story, Mr. Nichols, John Pickering, Leverett Saltonstall Mr. King) for that School Confer with the *principle* of the School upon the Subject. Voted—that the Bell of the East School be disposed with and removed.

Octr 4 1822 Voted — that Mr. Henry K Oliver Assistant at the Grammar School, receive an addition to his Salary of \$150 pr annum, to Commence from the first of October 1822.

April 10 1823 — At A Meeting of the School Committee at the Selectmens room Voted—that Mr. Days resignation be accepted Voted — That Messrs Saltonstall & King Consult with Mr. Eames & report at the next meeting concerning his being appointed to the Situation vacated by the resignation of Mr. Day.

Decr 13 — At A Meeting of the School Committee Present Messrs Story Chairman Pickering Saltonstall Treadwell King Sprague & the clerk. Voted—that the Sum of 75 Dollars be appropriated to defray the expense of an evening School to be Kept during the winter the present Season by Master Hood, for the benefit of indigent Scholars above Sixteen Years of age, who have been deprived of the benefit of School Education

April 26 1823 — At A Meeting of the School Committee at the Selectmens room. Voted — that the Clerk inform Mr. Day that it is the wish of the School Committee, that the present arrangement of dividing the Grammar School be dispensed with and that all the boys be Kept together in the lowery room during School hours. At this Meeting Mr. Eames letter was received as follows,

Salem April 26th 1823

To the School Committee of the Town of Salem,
Gentlemen,

I have had the Subject of my appointment to the Office of Principle of the Grammar School, under Serious Consideration, and take this Opportunity to State that I have Concluded to accept it — Much time has elapsed Since I have been actively engaged in the instruction of Youth and my pursuits have been diverse from that imployment; But you may rest assured of my best exertions to promote the welfare and respectability of the School you have committed to my care & I indulge a hope that the results of my labours will eventually Satisfactory, to all concerned and accept my sincear acknowledgments, for the very liberal and

Generous manner in which this appointment has been tendered to me by the Committee; and permit me to subscribe myself, with Great respect

Your Obedt Servant
Theodore Eames

Present at the above Meeting

Messrs Story (Chairman) Treadwell, Hawes King and Nichols etc

A L. Peirsons Clerk

March 3d 1824 — At A Meeting of the School Committee Present Messrs Pickering Nichols, & (Eames having withdrawn from the board of School Committee Messrs Story & Saltonstall absent at Washington) Treadwel Haws King Sprague & A L Peirsons.

Dismissal of Master Gale

Voted — on the Petition of Mr. Hood for a division of his School, that his request be put on file to be acted upon after the next Choice of School Committee by the Town. Voted Unanimously, Mr. Gale having at the unanimous request of the School Committee Give notice that he would resign on the first of April next, that the Clerk be Ordered immediately to Advertise, for a Master to take Charge of the South School, on that day.

March 26 — It appearing to the Committee that Mr. Gale, Master of the South School, immediately on the appearance of an advertisement for a New Master, delivered the Keys of the South School House to the Clerk of the Committee, and refused, any longer to Keep Said School and that the same is now vacant Voted — that the Committee now proceed to choos by ballot a Master for the South School Voted unanimously—that Mr. Ira Cheever of Marblehead, be the Master of Said School.

June 16 — At A Meeting of the School Committee Mr. Henry K. Oliver was appointed Master of the English High School for Boys at a Salary of One Thousand Dollars.

Establishment of the High School

That for the admission to the English H School at the approaching examination the Candidates Shall be at least

twelve years of age. — Shall produce from his late instructor a Certificate of Good moral character & of Respectable attainments in Reading Writing Arithmetic, Spelling, English Grammar, & Geography; and that the Clerk cause notice of the regulation to be Given in the Public Prints.

(Candidates were examined June 27, 1827)

July 14 1827 — At A Meeting of the School Committee Voted—that Messrs Brown & Randalls proposals for building the Two School Houses at \$1475 each be accepted there proposals being the lowest Submitted

Establishment of Schools for Girls &c

Voted—that the West School House (for Girls) be located on Beckford Street, on land of Mrs. Sarah Stearns forty feet in front, extending in the rear about one hundred feet the fence which forms the boundary line Voted—that the East School House (for Girls) be located on the Town's land near the Engin house on East Street Mr. Henry J. Hamilton is appointed Master of the Western School for Girls Mr. Rufus Putnam is appointed Master of the Eastern School for Girls

Augt 18th — Voted—that the Sub-Committee of Miss Dennis's School be authorized to remove the same to the School House in Beckford Street. Voted—that the School on the Turnpike be discontinued as soon as the School House in Beckford Street is ready to receive it, & that the Clerk be directed to inform Mrs. Andrews of the Same. And that her Services will no longer be required. Candidates for admission to the Masters Schools for Girls must be at least Nine years of age & that they be received only at the Commencement of Each tirm.

Octr Voted—that the Salaries of the Masters of the Schools for Girls commence from the first of October.

July 3d 1830 — At A Meeting of the School Committee A representation was made by the Sub-Committee of the English High School relative to the Dismissal of Reuben Ropes from the Said School. Voted—that the Sub-Committee be requested to attend at the School and publicly to Express the disapprobation Entertained by the Committee of the Offence with which Said Ropes has been charged, by Mr. Oliver, and in Consequence of which he has been

temporarily dismissed from Said School; — And further to State that in consequence of the temporary absence from School, to which he has already Submitted, the Committee acceed to his restoration upon Condition of his Making an acknowlegment of his fault, in the presence of the Sub Committee.

N J Lord Clerk

The reasons Given by Mr. Oliver for dismissing Said Reuben Ropes from the English High School, are as follows, Viz

He says that about a week before he Sent Ropes down to Mr. Lords office in Washington Street after the record Book of the School Ropes wore a Cap on his head, and went into Mr. Lords Office, — Asked for, and Obtained the Book and came away, without taking his Cape from his head, a day or two after Mr. Lord fell in Company with Oliver, and among other Conversation Mr. Lord asked Mr. Oliver if he allowed his Boys to Go into folks Offices without taking off their Hats. Oliver says Certainly not, and then asked Mr. Lord what he ment Lord then told him the Mannar in which Ropes came after the Book. Oliver Said he would punish him for it. accordingly the next day Oliver Says to Ropes You Go Down to Mr. Lords office and Bring me up Such a Book (nameing it) Ropes Says Yes, and attempted to Get his Cap. — Oliver Says Stop You must go without your Cap. Why So Says Ropes, Oliver Says because when you went there the other day you didnot take of your Cap, when you went into Mr. Lords Office. Ropes Said he went into the office very quick, was there but a minute, and he forgot to take his Cap off. Oliver Says now Sir Go without your Cap. Ropes Says he should not like too Oliver Says you shall have your choice to Go down to Mr. Lords office without your Cap or leave the School. Ropes immediately left the School. His father (Capt Benjamin Ropes) immediately entered a Complaint to P. Putnam one of the Sub-Committee for Said School, who immediately called upon Mr. Oliver for an Explanation and he Stated the facts as above; and since the Boy had disobeyed his order and he should not come back to School again with his Consent unless he complied with his order. Viz, Go from the School to Mr. Lords office without his hat.

Putnam Said that if he rightly understood the Subject, Ropes had not exactly disobeyed his order, as he (Oliver) had Given Ropes his choice, either to Go and do the errand without his Cap, or leave the School, and he choose the latter. Willie H. Cook.

After considerable conversation Oliver agreed that Ropes Should Go back to School, and await the decision of the Committee on the Subject at their next meeting. Ropes returned to School the next day, and asked Oliver what Lesson he should Get. Oliver Says I dont know any thing about You, You may do as you please; I have nothing to do with you, as you have come or have been sent back by the Committee without Obeying my order & without my Consent. The next day Capt Ropes Called on the Sub Committee and informed them of the Conduct of Mr. Oliver towards his Son.

A Meeting of the Committee was immediately Called when the whole Subject was Submitted to the consideration of the Committee, — And after due deliberation the foregoing Order of July 3d 1830 was passed The Committee present at this meeting were as follows Messrs Phillips Babcock Shepard Huntington, Upham Putnam Putnam Foote and the Clerk.

Reports Against High School

Nov 5 1831 At A Meeting of the School Committee Present Messrs Upham, Lawrence Rogers Lee P Putnam Mack Wheatland Babcock Silsbee Shillabar Russell & the Clerk. Voted — Considering the unfavorable reports that have been made to the Committee by the Sub-Committee of the High School, after the two last Examinations and in addition to those reports the representation made to the Committee by three of five appointed to Examine into the State of Said School. Voted — That the Chairman of the Committee and the Sub-Committee of the High School, inform Mr. Brook the Instructor of Said School of the dissatisfaction with the State of Said School. and that time be allowed Mr. Brook for restoring his School to a proper Subordination; and that they Communicate a Copy of this vote to Mr. Brook.

Decr 3 — The Chairman of the Committee & the Sub Committee of the High School reported that they had become Satisfied that the vote of the last meeting, which they were directed to Communicate to Mr. Brook, was passed under a misapprehension of the State of the facts, and the report of the Sub Committee, that there had been two unfavourable reports of the Sub-Committee of the School, and therefore had delayed Communicating the vote to Mr. Brook. And recommended that the vote be not Communicated, to Mr. Brooks.

Report Accepted
Signed N J Lord Clerk

Jany 14 1833 At A Meeting of the School Committee Present Messrs Russell Frothingham Williams Lord C Chase Myrick Spencer Brown Willis Lee & Cox the Chairman being Absent Col Russell was appointed Chairman pro tem. Voted — That Mr. Hambleton be dismissed. That Messrs Lee & Cox together with the Sub Committee of the Beckford Street School be authorized to procure a Master for Said School, for the remainder of the term Voted — That the Clerk be authorized to Advertise for a Master for Said School Voted — That application must be made before the first Saturday in February

Signed C G Putnam Clerk

The School Committee Meet Feby 2d 1833 Applications of Candidates for the Beckford Street School were laid before the Committee. The Committee proceeded to Ballot Mr. _____ Fairfield was Ellected. The Committee of the South District made an unfavourable report respecting the South Primary School

C. G Putnam Clerk

Increases of Pay to Female instructors in Primary Schools

Nov 16 — At A School Committee Meeting, On Motion of Mr. Wheatland Voted—that all the female teachers Excepting the Tapley Brook School, receive each, for their Services One hundred & fifty Dollars pr annum, and no Greater Sum Shall be allowed to any one School unless by a Special vote of the Committee and this vote Shall take effect from and after the present Quarter

John C Lee Clerk

Organization of the School Committee

1834 The School Committee Chosen at the Annual Meeting in March Consists of the following Members Viz Rev Charles W Upham, John M. Ives, Isaac H. Frothingham Rev James W Thompson Rev Cyrus P Grosvenor Charles A Andrews, George H Daveraux Benjamin Cox, Joseph Hodges, Cyrus Chase, A J Bellows, A G Browne Isaac Newhall, Rev Michael Carlton James Chamberlin William B. Pike, William Leavitt Edmund Currier, Perley Putnam, Charles F Putnam Rev J Hamilton Daniel Lord, Emery Johnson.

At the first Meeting of the School Committee at the Selectmen's Room. Town Hall, March 26 1834 Present Messrs Upham, Newhall, Frothingham Ives Carlton, Chamberlin Pike Leavitt Currier Brown Thompson P. Putnam C F Putnam Bellows. Hamilton, Lord, Chase & Cox The bord was organized as follows.

Rev Charles W Upham Chairman

Perley Putnam Vice Chairman

Isaac H Frothingham Clerk.

The following Sub-Committees were then appointed by the Chairman, and accepted by the board, Viz—

Laten School ----- Messrs Cox & Thompson

High School ----- Brown & Daveraux

West Girl School ----- Chase & Grosvenor

East " " ----- Bellows & Hodges

West School for Boys, & Boston St & Tapley Brook Primary School, Messrs Ives & Currier.

East School for Boys, & East Primary School Messrs Johnson & Newhall.

South, for Boys, & Primary Hamilton & Pike

Center " " Charles F Putnam &

Chamberlin

North " " Andrews & Lord

William St Boys Andrew St Leavitt & Carlton

Voted — That the Petition of John Winn Jr and others for a Primary School in Bridge Street and the Vote of the Town, on Said petition be referred to a Sub-Committee, who Shall report upon the Same at the next Meeting of the board.

Messrs P Putnam

A G Browne

I Newhall

April 5th The above Committee reported in favour of removing the Primary School House from Andrew Street on the Land of the heirs of Benjamin Pickman late of Salem deceased, South Side of Bridge Street, the lot next east of Dea Whitman's Dwelling House at a rent of \$12=50 pr annum. The Report was accepted and the foregoing Committee together with the Sub-Committee of the Andrew Street Primary School, was authorized to remove Said School house and put the Same in proper repair etc

June 7 1834 Voted, That the remonstrance of David Becket and 175 others against the admission of Blacks into the East School for Girls, be referred to a Select Committee of 5 to be nominated from the Chair, to report upon the Same as Soon as convenient Messrs Charles A Andrews, C F Putnam. John M. Ives Rev. James W Thompson & Rev. Charles W. Upham were appointed. The above named Committee reported in favour of Establishing a Seperate School for the Blacks which was accepted.

Aug 5 A Committee of 2 was appointed, (Viz — Cyrus Chase and C F Putnam) to procure a room and Establshe the School for Colored Children, and it was Voted that Wm. B Dodge of the North School, be appointed to take charge of the to be established for Colored Children. Voted — That the Clerk advertise for an Instructor for the North Salem School —, applications to be received till the 25Inst.

Aug 30 1834 At A Meeting of the School Committee Present Messrs Upham, P. Putnam Thompson, Lord Ives Carlton Chase Leavett C F Putnam Pike Chamberlin Brown Cox, Bellows, Grosvenor an the Clerk Applications were offered from 20 individuals (whos names are below) for the School vacated by the appointment of Mr. Dodge to the School for Colored Children, which having been read by the Clerk with the testimonials attending each application the following Ballot was taken.

Whole number of Votes 15

Necessary to a Choice 8

Mr. Albert Lackey of Danvers, had 8 votes and was declared Elected.

N West 3d 4 votes

D H Sanborn 2

Gustavus Newhall 1

Names and residents of applicants for the North School,
Viz —

Newton C Marble,	Bradford	Mass
James Oliver	Salem	"
Dyer H Sandborn	Marblehead	"
James Ropes Jr	Salem	"
Frederick W Choate	Beverly	"
Amos Morrill	Salisbury	"
Charles Herrick	Topsfield	"
George Cook	Nashua	"
John Dearborn	Salem	"
George Giddings	Ipswich	"
William A Burnham	Danvers	"
James H Dodge	Beverly	"
Samuel Clark	Sherburn	"
C. B. Dearborn	Marblehead	"
Gustavus Newhall	Lynn	"
Daniel P Galleup	Beverly	"
Charles A Peabody	"	"
Jeremiah Sandborn	Lynn	"
Nathl West 3d	Salem	"
Albert Lackey	Danvers	"

There has been received into the Town Treasury the Sum of Five hundred and thirty three dollars and fifty cents — the Same being the amount to which the town was entitled under the distribution of the income of the School fund of this State. Of the number and amount of Orders drawn on account of the Salem School Department from March 30th 1835 to March 19 1836 inclusive,

Number of Orders Drawn, 164, amounting to \$10,445=20 As follows,

For Salaries of Instructors & Assistants	8 561=56
Repairs of School Houses & Incidental Expenses	663 57
Wood for the Use of Schools	393 . 00
Books for the Use of Children	317=53
Appropriation to Establish School Libraries	177=53
Rents of Land & buildings	132 30
Purchas of School House in Boston Street	200—00
	10,445=20

The Following is A General View of the Public Schools in Salem, in March 1836

Name of School	Instructors Name	Amount of Salary	Where Located	On Town's or Hired Land	Description of Building	Rent of Lands &c
Latin School	Oliver Carlton	\$1000.	Broad Street	Town's Land	Brick 2 Stories High	
High	William H. Brooks	1000	"	"	"	
North English	Albert Lackey	600	North Salem	"	"	
South	William Leavitt	600	South Salem	"	Wood 1 Story "	
East	Edwin Jocelynn	600	East Street	"	Brick 2 Story "	
West	Oliver C. Felton	600	Dean Street	"	Wood 1 "	
Central	Abner Brooks	600	Court Street	"	Brick 1 "	
North East	Richard Gardner	600	William Street	"	Wood 2 "	
African	William B. Dodge	600	Court Street	"	Wood 1 "	
East Girls	Rufus Putnam	600	Essex Street	"	Chamber of Central	
West Girls	J. B. Fairfield	600	Beckford Street	"	Wood 2 Stories High	
North Primary	Ann W Stone	150	North Salem	"	Wood 2 "	
South	M. E. Smith	150	South Salem	"	Fifty Dollars and Tax	
Boston St	N. R. Eustis	150	Boston Street	"	\$3.80 — \$53.80	
Beckford St	S Dennis	150	Beckford Street	"	Four Dollars 4.00	
Central	H. Cross	150	Court Street	"		
Bridge St	S. Barr	150	Bridge Street	"		
East	S. Gray	150	Essex Street	"		
Tapley's Brook	Appointed by Sub Comt	about 200	Boston Old Road	"		
						\$113=08
						School for Girls

The Apparatus belonging to the High School May be estimated at about One hundred Dollars

The Sub-committee to whom were assigned the care of the two English Grammar Schools for Girls, — having attended to the Examination of Said Schools, on the 20th & 21st of May the day on which the last term ended, respectfully report the following as the result of their Examination

First The East School under Mr. Rufus Putnam whole number of Scholars during the term 161

First Class whole number 20 number left 7

Second " " " 23 " " 2

Thurd " " " 40 " " 6

Fourth " " " 36 " " 6

Fifth " " " 42 " " 4

161	25
25	

— 136 Present

Second The West School under Mr. J. B. Fairfield

Whole number of Schollars during the term 132

First Class 20 left 3 absent 2 present 15

Second 37 " 1 " 2 " 24

Third 38 " 1 " 3 " 34

Fourth

& Fifth 47 " 3 " 10 " 34

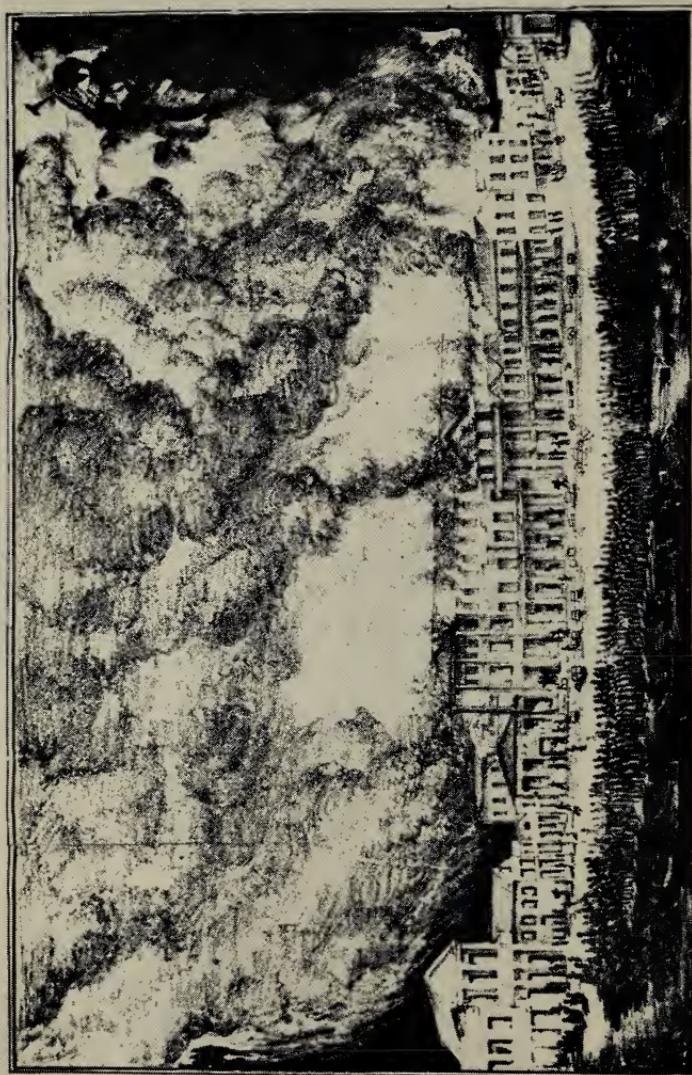
132	8	17	107
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The Several Classes have attended, to and were examined in the following Studies, Viz,

First Class Geography, Grammar, History Arithmetic Reading Writing & Spelling

Second Class Arithmetic Grammar Geography Reading Spelling Writing & definitions

Third Class Geography Arithmetic Writing definitions reading & Spelling



THE GREAT FIRE OF SAN FRANCISCO.

400 BUILDINGS BURNED!

MAY 4th, 1850.

Loss \$500,000.

Published by W.B. Cooke & Co., Financial Square.

LETTER FROM A FORTY-NINER RELATING TO THE GREAT FIRE IN SAN FRANCISCO IN 1850

CONTRIBUTED BY COL. LAWRENCE WATERS JENKINS

The writer of this letter was James W. Jenkins, uncle of Col. Lawrence W. Jenkins, Director Emeritus of the Peabody Museum in Salem. As one of the Forty-niners, he witnessed the havoc wrought by the disastrous fire in San Francisco in 1850, and wrote this letter home to his brother on letter paper embellished with a picture of the conflagration. This is believed to be one of the rarest prints of that time. The family records follow:

JAMES WILLIAM JENKINS, eldest son of James Jenkins (1787-1834), born in New York City 28 Sept. 1811; died in Madison, Ind., 24 Oct. 1892; married Mary _____ who died there 31 May 1876. Went to California in 1849.

CHARLES TRINDER JENKINS, youngest son of James Jenkins (1787-1834), born in New York City, 22 June 1823; died in Salem, Mass., 18 Nov. 1885. Married first in Sacramento, Calif., 27 May 1862, LUCY ANN HARRON, dau. of Capt. William Mundy and Lucy (Hill) Harron, formerly of Salem, Mass., born in Salem in 1831; died in Grass Valley, Calif., 21 Feb. 1863. Had twin daughters born in Grass Valley, 20 Feb. 1863; both died in Madison, Ind., Lucy Harron on 28 July and Addie Easton on 31 July, 1863. Married, second, in Salem, Mass., 29 July 1869, LUCY DANE WESTON, dau. of Capt. Nathaniel and Christiana (Waters) Weston, born in Salem, 25 Sept. 1834; died there 22 March 1874. Had two children: James Percival, born 11 April 1870 and died 11 Jan. 1872; Clarence (changed to Lawrence in 1877) Waters, born 23 Dec. 1872 and living in Danvers, Mass. in Oct. 1954. Married third in Salem, Mass., 17 April 1879, ANGELINE MACKENZIE WESTON, widow of Capt. Edward Weston, and dau. of Capt. Reuben and Isabella (Hutchinson) MacKenzie of Mt. Desert, Maine; born in Salem, 2 Jan. 1833;

died in Boston, Mass., 13 April 1892. He went to California between 1850 and 1854 and was the first passenger to come all the way East by rail in 1869.

San Francisco May 14th, 1850
Tuesday, 2 Ock P.M.

My dear Brother

I wrote you per steamer 1st inst and forwarded at the same time two small packages Gold dust in charge of Mr. Whipple of Troy. I trust you will receive them and see that they are safely delivered. We have had *scorching* times since then, the particulars of which I refer you to the papers accompanying this, a view of the city herewith sent is accurate, At the Night of the Fire I slept at Pendleton's and was about the first on hand, fortunately the winds at so early an hour in the morning are light otherwise the entire city must have fallen: In my desire to assist P & Co. a small portion of my own property was destroyed. I had purchased some few days before at Auction a number of articles and was to have taken them on board the *Meteor* the following day: In the hurry and disorder consequent at such a fire few have time to think and by our united efforts with blankets and water we saved the building I am at this moment writing in. Capt Fulsom the owner invited Hotaling & myself to dine on Sunday last, which was accepted and an agreeable time we had of it. I suppose my loss about \$200. I had no idea that the flames had reached that point so soon for after we had secured the safety of the City Hotel I turned to look after my things and found that all was in vain, the commotion was awfull, at one time we thought the entire Shipping must go, I had my Brig hauled out and as every sail was ready she could have left in a few minutes.

The Yankees are a curious people and the Spaniards, French and all other nations look on in perfect amazement at the enterprise of all, Buildings are going up again like magic, and on larger scale than before; *one man* in particular had (on the same morning and not three hours after the fire) the hot embers put out, scraped off, and timber carted to the spot for a fresh start, the destruction of proper-

ty was terrible and for the last few days boys and men have been digging over the Square for gold, I found quite a nice little lot myself in a minute some unfortunate fellow must have scattered it in the rush.

I had some funds deposited with a friend but they were secured early — and I must continue to be thankful by escaping with so slight a loss.

The *Isthmus* leaves tomorrow. Steamers are now becoming so plenty that we can keep each other posted often. I have been detained longer than was expected, shall probably get away in ten days. The *John Enders* has been chartered for Stockton, the party to pay \$1000 and return her here, they paying every expense. I shall try and dispose of her and shall (as soon as my means and the opportunity offers) purchase one of the many beautiful ships now in this harbour and send her home, I have a Captain who stands ready to put the Enterprise through.

This is a curious country, and it bothers a man exceedingly to know what to take hold of, all want the best. Brother George would flourish here in *real estate*, but the climate would soon use him up, dysentery is the prevalent disease and all must have a turn at it, how I have escaped remains to be accounted for, while at home, the least excitement would produce it on me and I was continually annoyed, now more excitement prevails and *I am well*, how the dickens is it? My horse is in the stable but is not used, I think it looks best for business to walk and when night comes I sleep a *foot*. My weight is increasing, while at home my average was 115 to 16 now it is 139 lb and still it comes.

I have indulged in nothing and shall maintain my position; Gen^l Dupuy is here and is extremely anxious that I should take a portion of his water lot at the foot of one of our most business streets, he says he will put up a house for me, adjoining his and do everything while I am absent. I have partially consented, how it will terminate remains to be seen. It is ticklish to be in business *here* I mean a *regular one*, I feel so much better by remaining untied, free to go and come.

It is now established that the best localities for mercantile operations are where piles can be driven at low water

mark and warehouses erected thereon. This the Gen' is doing and he proposes to drive enough for me and make every arrangement by my return. The expense attending all this together with the cost of a water lot is heavy —

ft in	
1st the Lot	45.10 x 60 will cost 6,000
the right of way	650
" piles & driving	1,500
" House 20x40	800
	<hr/>
	\$8,950

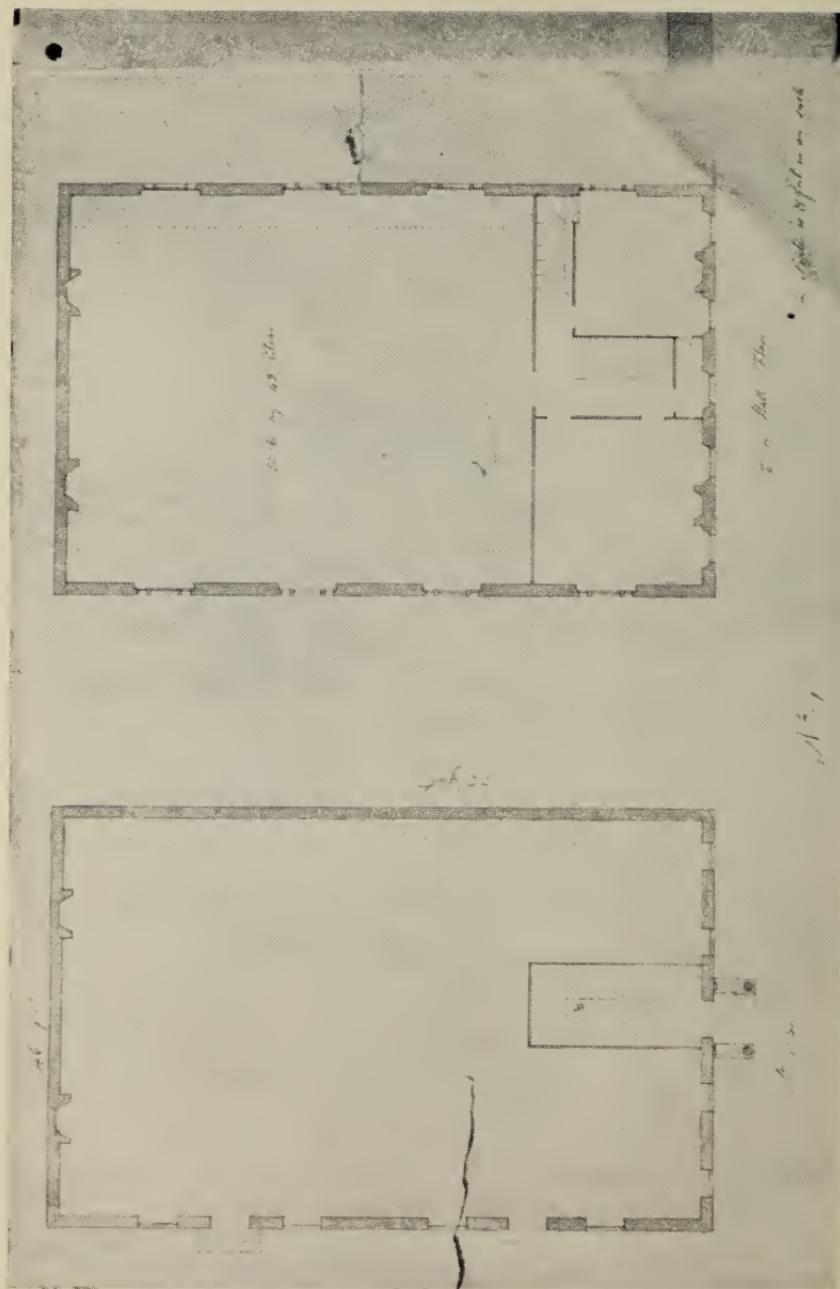
The lot he will give me on time the house I have which I purchased at auction for \$570 intending it for Capt. Dana at S. Luis, and which I can sell for \$1000. The right of passage way is 650, but it entitles me to one half of wharfage, and would perhaps clear itself in 6 mos or less; this and many other things too tedious to mention are constantly coming before me and it requires a regular philosopher to know which is preferable.

My old partner Root has busted and some little difficulty rests between us; he sold and appropriated the funds of property belonging to our stockholders at home, during my absence — however he assures me that all will be right before long — He went extensively in water lots and used all the money he could reach. I wish you to be particular in making any remarks relative to my doings here, be particularly dumb — You hear that I'm well, quite sufficient.

I shall send Mother some more funds by next steamer if I am here, at all events I shall no doubt be back before one month — and now dear Brother I must bid you good by, give my love to Mother, Grandmother George & all, write sister Hannah & Susan and send the enclosed Drawing but not the writing, I shall soon write to all myself.

Your aff Bro

James



Samuel McIntire's Plans of the First and Second Floors of Hamilton Hall.

In possession of the Essex Institute.

NEW EVIDENCE THAT SAMUEL McINTIRE DESIGNED HAMILTON HALL

BY WALTER McINTOSH MERRILL, PH.D.

Although many people have thought that Hamilton Hall was designed by Samuel McIntire, documentary proof has been lacking.¹

In searching through the fireproof vault for other plans, however, we discovered in a corner wrapped in brown paper an uncatalogued architect's drawing for the first and second story of Hamilton Hall. This plan is not labeled as McIntire's, but the penmanship is undoubtedly his, and even the color of paint used is one associated with him. And so it would seem that the design of Hamilton Hall can definitely be attributed to McIntire.

The document in question may have been given to the Essex Institute in 1893 by Stephen H. Phillips, as the following inscription appears in his hand on the back of the sheet:

Salem. March 9. 1893

I found these plans among some old papers of my grandfather, Capt Stephen Phillips, dec'd He had some duty in connection with building Hamilton Hall, being named, I think, in the Act of Incorporation, and upon the building Committee.

In 1806 the name of Stephen Phillips appeared on two deeds involving the land on which Hamilton Hall was being built. Later he granted the land to "the partners in the new assembly house." See James Duncan Phillips, *ibid.*, p. 295.

The memorandum opposite is in my grandfather's handwriting. The memorandum in question is a technical description of the dimensions of the land on which the hall was constructed.

¹ Fiske Kimball, *Mr. Samuel McIntire, Carver, The Architect of Salem* (Portland, Maine, 1940), p. 115; James Duncan Phillips, "Hamilton Hall, the Hall of the Federalists," *Essex Institute Historical Collections*, LXXXIII (October, 1947), p. 296.

THE DAY BOOK OF HENRY BUXTON, THE BUCKLE MAKER

BY BESSIE RAYMOND BUXTON

Henry Buxton was a great grandson of Anthony Buxton, of Norfolk, England, who settled in 1636 in Northfields, now North Central Street, Peabody, and the homestead is still in possession of his descendants. It is on a little hill, and all Buxtons who have been born on this hill are known as "Buxtons-of-the-Mount". The old house, which stood on the opposite side from the present house, near the Indian spring, still existing, was built by Anthony Buxton and by his will, bequeathed it to his son Joseph, who occupied it in 1692. Joseph, in his will, bequeathed it to his son Jonathan, and Jonathan's grandson, another Jonathan, built the present house. Anthony Buxton's original house was torn down in 1858.

Henry, the buckle maker, was the son of John and Elizabeth (Buffum) Buxton, and was born in 1740 in the old house which stood on Central Street, in the very center of present-day Warren Street. The house was probably built by his father, for Joseph Buxton's will gives to his son John — "that lot of land where his house and barn now stand," so it would seem that John Buxton built the house on his father's land. John was a tanner, and his tannery was in his own field, opposite present-day Tremont Street, and later was sold to the first of the Poor family of tanners.

On October 17, 1765, Henry married Elinor, daughter of Samuel and Patience (Boyce) Osborn, a lineal descendant of Lawrence and Cassandra Southwick. They were Quakers, and the quaint old marriage certificate is still in the family, the ink still clear and black on the yellowing parchment.

"WHEREAS Henry Buxton, of Danvers in the County of Essex in the province of thee Massachusetts Bay in New England, son of John Buxton of Danvers aforesaid Deceased, AND Elenor Osborn, daughter of Samuel Osborn

of said Danvers, Husbandman, HAVING declared their intentions of taking each other in marriage before several public meetings of the people called Quakers in Lynn and Salem, according to the good order used Among them, whose proceeding therein, after deliberate consideration thereof with Regard unto the Righteous Law of GOD and example of his people Recorded in the Scriptures of truth, in that case they appearing clear of all others and having consent of parents and others concerned, were approved by said meetings NOW these are to certifie all whom it may concern that for the full accomplishing of their said intentions this seventeenth day of the tenth month, called October, in the year one thousand seven hundred and sixty five they the said Henry Buxton and Elenor Osborn appeared in a public assembly of the afore said people and others met togeather in their public meeting place in Salem and in a Solomen manner he the said Henery Buxton, taking the said Elenor Osborn by the hand did openly declare that he took her to be his wife promising through the Lord's assistance to be unto her a loving and faithful husband untill Death should them Seprate. AND THEN AND THERE in the said Assembly the Said Elenor Osborn did in Like Manner declare that She took the Said Henry Buxton to be her husband in Like manner promising to be unto him a loving and faithfull wife tell death should Seprate them. AND MOREOVER the said Henry Buxton and Elenor Osborn, she according to the custom of marriage asuming the name of her husband as a further Confirmation thereof did then and there to these present Set their hands and we whose Names are hereunto Subscribed being present among others at the Solemizing of their said Marriage and Subscription in manner aforesaid as WITNESSES hereunto have also Subscribed our Names the Day and year above WRITTEN.

John Southwick
Marey Southwick
Roger Derby
Joseph Southwick
Jeremiah Hackar
Daniel Purinton
Benjamin Bickford
Jonathan Buffum

John Buxton
Jonathan Boys Jun^r
Bethiah Southwick
Hannah Nickels
Lydia Buffum
Lydia Osborne
Ledy Buxton
Patience Osborne

Mehetabel Buffum	Amos Buxton
Hannah Purintun	Samuel Osborn jn.
Rebekah Northey	patience Osborn
Elisabeth Southwick	Eleanor Buxton
Anne Hackar	Henry Buxton
Rachel Buffum	Abraham Osborne
Ruth Purintun	
Bethiah Dean	
Josiah Southwick	
Joseph Peaslee	
Joseph Southwick	

For his bride, Henry built the house still standing on the corner of Central and Warren Streets. Later, this house was occupied by Charles Folsom, whose grandfather, Peter G. Folsom, bought it from the Buxtons. Henry Buxton's shop stood on the north side of the house, near the back door, and was used by Mr. Folsom as a carpenter shop until 1911, when it was torn down. It had settled back on its foundations until the floor slanted so sharply that it was difficult to walk on it. The location is verified in the speech of George C. Smith, Esq. of Boston, one of the speakers at the Centennial Celebration at Danvers, June 16, 1852, who said: "Good old Uncle Henry Buxton had formerly carried on his trade of buckle making in a little shop situated, I think, between the last Buxton house and Deacon Poor's; But we never saw any of the products of his ingenuity, for, poor man! his occupation was gone in our day and had been since that memorable morning when George, Prince of Wales, made his appearance in London streets with shoe *strings*: then buckles became unfashionable, and of course, buckle makers were no longer wanted. The little shop, however, with its closed windows showing that its trade was dead, was an object of great interest to the young America of that day, and I remember we used to look at it with a sort of awe-struck curiosity, arising, I suppose, from our indefinite ideas of the unknown operations formerly carried on there."

There is no doubt what those "unknown operations" were, for we still possess a few of the things which he made, shoe and knee buckles, sleeve buttons, brass buttons for men's clothing and candlesticks. Better still, two volumes of his

account books are in existence with interesting records of his business transactions. The first volume of eighty pages covers the years 1761-1773, the second of twenty-eight pages, from 1784-1800. The books were begun when he was twenty-one years old and continued until he was sixty. For nearly a hundred years these books lay in the attic of his son Joshua's house. When the house was cleared, several boxes of books and papers were stored in the loft of our barn, and finally these books were found. They look their age of nearly two centuries. The paper is hand made, probably of linen rags, the ink is still black and the writing clearly legible. The spelling is phonetic, as all spelling was before the Revolution, and is puzzling at times, even in its stark simplicity, such as "ne" buckles. It is interesting to find so many familiar names in these books, names of families still living here, and the phonetic spelling shows how they were pronounced in the olden days. Thus we find Jon and David Goldthye or Goldthrite and Sam'l Darby, in the English pronunciation. It recalls the vigorous assertion of the Earl of Derby when he visited this country — "You may call my hat what you like, but my name is Darby!" So we find Paul and Jacob Osborn, Daniel and Isaac Reed, Caleb Foster, William and Dan'l Felton, Joseph Wilkins, Robert, Benjamin talar, Eligr Nothy, Stevin Cooke, Jemas Bott, Ebenezer Poop, Eneeck gudel, Bety Witemor, phillip Farrantun, thomas witreg, Asa Cimbul, Amos Buxton, John Tapeley, Joseph Poor, Joseph Ausgood, Daniel Needham, Willum Sheleber, Joseph Hearthan, Jorge Southwick and many others. There is an almost complete absence of women's names. Business in those days was a man's affair, women not being trusted to handle money.

The first year, 1761, only names of customers and the amount of their purchases, mostly small, were entered. The money was the "old tener" or Colonial money, pounds, shillings and pence. A pound, in our money, was about \$3.40, a shilling, sixteen and two thirds cents, nine shillings was \$1.50, six shillings one dollar, nine pence, twelve cents. He was particular to state "old tener" on every page of the first book, because a new monetary system was coming into use. The second volume does not mention old tenor, although pounds, shillings and pence were still used. When

a bill was paid, a line was drawn through the amount, and an X through the name. As a whole page of accounts was paid, a large X was drawn from corner to corner of the page.

The books are kept in an irregular fashion. Sometimes day by day transactions are recorded, sometimes a whole page is used for one man's accounts over a period of years. For instance, Samuel Buffum occupies page 18; he was probably the Buffum who kept a store in Salem at Buffum's Corner (the corner of Boston and Essex Streets). He died May 23, 1818, aged 74 years, so at this time he was twenty-one years old.

1766. Samuel Buffum,

to buckles, dt. 10-10-0.

to one doz. of smal buckles 3-18-0.

to Shew Buckls and ne buckls 5-2-0

30-12-0 (about \$104.)

May 1767. Samuel Buffum Dt.

to one doz. of ne Buckles 3- 0-0

to one doz. of Smal Shew Buckls 3-18-0

to 6 of Shew Buckls 2-18-0

Oct. 3 ye 1768 to one pear 0- 8-0

Samual Buffum Dt.

to 6 pear at 8-6 2-11-0

to 6 pear at 6 s 1-16-0

to 3 pear at 15s 2- 5-0

Samuel Buffom 1765. Cr.

to Clabbords 4-10-0

to Bords 27- 0-0

All duly crossed off, paid.

If only part of a page had been used, another year's entries thrifitly filled the vacant space, for papers was precious. So we find on page 22, 1765— Joseph Purckens; below, James Goudey 1766, and at the bottom of the page, Caleb Foster 1768. At the bottom of page 33, under entries of 1767 are other entries of 1770, 1771 and 1772. The next page has entries of 1767 and at the bottom of page 42, which records business of 1768 and 1769, we find: "February 15, ye 1772, Isaack Willson, Dt. to mending, old ten.

0-10-0. Dr. to casting a pear of Silver ne Buckls for nuel [his brother-in-law] 0-16-6. Dt. to a pear of Bras Buckls for nuel, 0-9-0". Isaack Willson was a tavern keeper in this town, a man with Tory sympathies. Continuing to serve tea, against the wishes of the villagers, he was obliged to stand in public, repeating "I, Isaack Willson, a Tory I be; I, Isaack Willson, I sells tea". And there are people still living who remember when children used to repeat this rhyme.

On December 30, ye 1763 was a puzzling entry: Ioseph purkens of Iebecker, which was finally decided to be Joseph Perkins of Chebacco. The name was spelled in various ways — Iebecker, Jebacker, and in two words, Je Bakar. From this man he bought brass for his work: Ioseph purkens

of Iebecker, Dr. to 8 lb. 2½ c. old bras, 2-2-6
Cr. 8 lb. old bras, 2-0-0.

Several entries each year showed purchases of old brass, occasionally a Dt. entry showed a business exchange: "Dec. 20, 1765, Dt. to 10 pear of shew buckles, 4-10-0. Feb. 15, 1766, Dt. to 4 of small buckels, 1-6-0. To 2 of large buckels, 1-0-0. Aug. 1766, Dt. to 6 pear of large buckls, 2-18-0." Then follows a whole page of transactions with Joseph Perkins: "Oct. the 3, ye 1766. This Day Reckned with Ioseph Perckens and there remaned to me, old ten. 7-12-5. Dec. 6 ye 1766, Ioseph purkens of Jebacker, Cr. to 10 lbs. of old bras, 2-11-9. To cash, 4-10-0. Ioseph purkens of Je Bakar, Cr. To two hang chef, 4-10-0. To a hang chef, 2-5-0." These were probably large shoulder kerchiefs of silk or fine linen. "To old Bras, 1-9-6. To old Bras, 1-8-0. March the 20, ye 1767, this Day Reikned with Joseph Purkens ther Remaned dew to me, old ten. 7-19-6. To 3 pear of buckls, 0-18-0. May 23, to 4 of Buckls, 1-4-0. June the 13 ye 1767. Dt. mending a pan, 1-4-3. To 3 pear Large Buckls, 1-10-0." Possibly Joseph Perkins died about this time for his name does not appear again, and on July 15, 1768, he began buying old brass of Isaac Perkins, continuing until November, 1771. Isaac Perkins became a Revolutionary soldier, and died in 1821. On April 9, 1771, he bought 8½ lbs. of old brass from Pal Osborne for 2-11-0. Only once did he note selling old brass. In 1765,

he sold some to Doctor Holehock (probably Dr. Holyoke of Salem).

John tusel is a strange name which appears in the first year's records, in 1761, and frequently thereafter, until 1772. Usually no mention is made of the transactions, except cash, but when it is mentioned, it is always "hiches": "19 paer of hishes: 24 of hiches." Research at the Essex Institute shows that this man was John Touzel, a native of the island of Jersey, who came to Salem and married Susannah, daughter of Philip English, in 1720. He died on August 14, 1785, aged 85 years.

The year 1762 begins with a full page of business with Samuel Darby. The first three entries are for cash transactions, then comes the first specific entry in the books of the nature of the goods made: "to a pair of sturrops, 3-15-0. To bras hucks 0-18-0." During the rest of the year, Samuel Darby bought nine more "pear of Sturrops" and the page is crossed off, paid. Darby continued to be a good customer during the year 1765, buying "Eyebrases [for harness], Warter hooock [for check rein], rings and belt buckles." His name does not appear again.

Jonathan Buxton has accounts running from 1761 to 1769, amounts varying from 15 shillings to 3-7-0. What he bought is not specified, but a pair of shoe buckles, now in the possession of his great granddaughter are probably Henry Buxton's work, for they correspond closely with those found in grandfather Buxton's home.

In January, 1765, he began to record personal settlement of bills. "Jan. 3 ye 1765. Then Reconed with Samuel Derby [this time with the modern spelling] and there Remains Due to me old tennor, 43-11-9." (About \$148.00) The following year, "June the 25 ye 1766 Thes Day Reckned with Isaac Reed and ther Remaned dew to me old ten. 1-16-0. June 24 ye 1768 John Putnam this day Reckned and Setld with" but no amount given. "Dec. 26, 1768 this day Reckned, old ten. with James Buxton and ther remaned dew to me henry Buxton 3-4-6. Lawful muny [this perhaps, is the new money]. This day Reckned with Stevin Cooke and ther remaned dew to me Henry Buxton 4-9-9-3s."

Occasionally the balance was on the other side: "Nov. 8 ye 1771 then Reckned with Isaack Willson Balance dew to him old ten. 1-0-9." There is a similar entry with Nathaniel Peabody and "Beniamin talar". An entry of especial interest to me is this: "Sept. 24 ye 1768. In thes day Reckned with Samuel Osborne [his wife's father] in dr. to a desk 18-0-0." (\$45.20) This is the desk which came to us from grandfather Buxton's house. One of the secret drawers bears the date of 1754.

Buckles, with which his name is associated, were of various kinds. Horace Buxton, my brother-in-law, said that his grandfather told him, when he was a child, "My father made buckles for Salem, Lynn and Boston gentlemen who came to his shop, bringing silver dollars to be melted down and made into buckles." "Shew" buckles are mentioned most often and range from 7-18 shillings a pair. "Ne" buckles from 3-9 shillings and "Harnes" buckles follow closely in price. He also made "learg" buckles, large open buckles, costing 18 shillings, "middlen" and "smal" buckles at seven shillings, pinch buckles at five shillings, belt and breech buckles, the latter for harness. "Cut ne" buckles are also mentioned. "Beniaman Jacobs, Dr. Sept. 1771, To casting a paer of silver ne buckls, 18-0-0." In 1768, Richard Witreg bought "a pair of silver Buckls" costing 5-13-0. Prices varied with material and size. "Dec. 1770 Deleuvered to Joseph Nelburd 2 pear of Buckles at 18 Shillings the pear, 1-16-0. 6 pear at nine shillings the pear, 2-14-0; a pear, 0-7-0." Naturally, buckles needed mending at times, and there are plenty of such entries—"to mending a pear of Buckls 0-3-0. Isaack Wilson, Dr. to mending a pear of Buckls 0-5-0". Or it might be "mending a warming pane for Danel Purrentun, eight shillings."

Boot hasps he made, from two to six shillings a pair, and "shew hiches, 1-10-0." "Sleve Butens" cost from 0-1-3 a pair to 0-11-4. One entry is "72 pear 3-12-0." Studs' were sold in quantity, twenty, fifty or a hundred at a time. The price for a hundred studs at eleven pence a pair was 4-13-4. "A doz. of butens" cost 1-10-0 and "Buckband Butens" 0-9-9. These were for abdominal bands.

Many articles were made from brass; he lists "Eye braces, top braces, bells, bunet braces, but braces, corner braces,

apurn braces, bras tips [shaft ends], bras dogs [andirons], bras handles [for furniture] and winder braces [the side springs on old windows]." Some of these are clock fittings, some for harness, some for fireplaces. "A bras kitel" cost 9-6-9. Isaack Wilson bought "a Skimar" which cost a pound. "Bullet moles" he made, too, for 1-10-0, and "a pear of Spun moles" for Abraham Shaw, 2-5-0. Various parts of harnesses were made also, buckles "tungs", high dees, low dees [for reins on a saddle], and "but" rings. A "Sadel" cost Thomas Witreg 16-0-0, and a "Bridel" 1-12-0.

Evidently he bought and sold lumber. On May 4, 1767 he notes:

Dan'l Epes, Dr. to Buckles and Butens	12-18-0
Cr. to 500 of Clabbards	10- 0-0
Cr. to 7100 of Bords	14-17-0
Cr. to 6006 of Shingles	24- 0-0.

He also bought shingles of Paul Osborne, and in 1767, Jeames Buxton Dr. to halling of wood, 8 lod 12- 0-0
to halling 2 lod 3- 0-0
to halling 1 lod 1-10-0.

Daniel Putnam paid him 3-15-0 for a saw, 0-12-6 for a "chesel" and Henry Cook bought two axes for four pounds and a gun for 7-10-0. John Goldthyte is charge "to a almanack 0-2-6". Asa Stiles, "a Ree" 0-7-6. This is an old name for a sieve.

As Revolutionary days drew near, it is evident that the demand for buckles lessened, and other commodities are mentioned. In 1770, Samuel Osborne to a Boaxirne 2-5-0. Two pounds of Cofe, 0-18-0. Beets, 0-4-6. In 1771, half a day's work, nine shillings. Fish, 0-3-4. Seven pounds "Shuger" 1-5-0. "Cheever coster Dr. by ten bushels of puttaters 5-0-0.

"Eligr Nothy" usually bought harness parts— hiches, tungs, etc. Also, "Eligr Nothy, Cr. to 3 galans of Rum, old ten. 2-8-0. To 14 pound of Shuger 2-5-0. 2 galans of Rum, 1-12-0. Two more galans of rum 1-12-0 and 7 pounds Shuger 1-2-6. Total, 8-19-6. Nov. 23 ye 1768, Thes reckned and Setld." "Januery 2— ye 1770 Paul osborne Dr. By three pints of Rum -6-0. 4 quarts of Rum at 0-4-0".

Samuel Osborne also bought rum, four quarts, and two quarts of "melasses. 2 paer of flasks, 6-0-0"

On "April 23 ye 1771 Asa Cimbul Dr. by 28 Bushels of Cole, 12-5-0." Is it possible that coal was used as early as 1771? The last entry in the volume is "Janauery the 12 ye 1773 thes day Reckned and setl with Pal Osborne and there Remained Dew to him old tener 15-12-6".

The first entry in the second volume is dated "Apriel 8 ye 1784." Whether the volume between these two is lost or whether he gave up keeping his accounts during the war, I do not know. Being a Quaker, he did not go to war, of course. His work now was chiefly on harness, although some buckles are noted. "On March 8 ye 1785, he made 24 Buckls for Joseph Poor 0-8-0." Prices for buckles had dropped, for three earlier entries for 24 buckles were 5-8-0. Perhaps the change in the value of currency accounts for the difference. The bill included "high dees, Warter hooks, Eye Brases and Loops." Joseph Harthan bought "hiches" in quantity, nothing else.

A paragraph in different writing reads: "Danvers, Jane'y 4 1785 then Rec'd of Henry Buxton Eight pair of Brass Shew Buckells at two Shillings a par which I promas to Return again or pay the Sum of Sixteen Shillings in Leu of Said Buckells when Called for. Daniel Putnam." And beneath this is added "Jan'ry 24 1787 Rec'd the above in full, Henry Buxton". Other entries show the changed nature of his work: "February 1785 Jonathan Osborne Dr. to cash Delivered to Ebenezer Bred 4-10-0. To Spuns 1-4-0. To gold wiers 0-4-6. To Cash Delivered to Edward Southwick 2-14-0."

In January 1787, Ezekiel Goldthwaite bought buckles "hiches" and also "Eals, sixpence." This year, the women of the household lent their efforts to supplement the failing income, for there were nine children to be fed. The looms and spinning wheels must have clacked and whirred incessantly to fill orders for Ezekiel Goldthwaite. In January, they wove nineteen yards of cloth for him, for six shillings and fourpence — one dollar. In February, two "cover ledds" four shillings each. In March, thirty-five yards of "cloath at five copers a yard, nine shillings and ninepence."

In April, another "CoverLad" this one for Ezeckel Mach for four and six.

In September 19½ yards of cloth at 4½ pence, 0-14-3. Henry was not idle, for in September he worked for Benjamin Jacobs, "cutting Stocks and gethering corn" receiving five shillings. In October, eleven days work at "digen petters at three Shilns the day, 1-13-0. Five dayes and half day at 0-1-2 the day, 0-6-5." A different wage scale than now.

On March 26, ye 1787 he sells to "Joseph Ausgood, four bushels of petters, 6 shillings. Mending the buckel of a spier, four pence. To 2 pare children buckels at 10 pence, 0-1-8, 2 pare at 0-2-6, 15 shillings and 2 pence".

The following spring, May 1788, he worked for "Eeckel goldthrte, To 2 days at planting, 4 shillings." In June, "To 1 day at weeding, 2 shillings." In July, "then reconed with Izekiel Goldthwaite and found due to him 12 shillings." This is the first instance where both men signed the receipt. In November, he again worked for Ezekiel Goldthwaite, 4 days at 2 shillings, 3½ days at a shilling a day. That same month, he sold "ungens" for 0-8-5 to "Danial Needam" and made buckles for him, 3 pear for 3 shillings, and "Silver Buckles for 3 shillings," also "a pear for Joanathan Boyas" for 4 shillings. Again, the postwar prices, for silver buckles in former days had cost from one to five pounds a pair. That summer he worked for "Willum Shileber, to 2 days at diging mud, 0-6-0. Dr. to 2 tides at digin mud, 4 shillings. To 1 day hoing 3 shillings." This mud from the mussel beds on the shore was used for fertilizing the onion fields. This month, the women wove two orders of 34 yards each for nine shillings sixpence each order.

In a different writing, there is this entry: "Danvers Jenuary 13, 1789— Then Rackned with Josiah Converse and thair was due to me One pound 8 shillings in his work. [Signed] Henry Buxton, Josiah Converse". This entry is in the writing of Josiah Converse, a Woburn man, born in 1752, who came to Danvers after his marriage to Elizabeth Green of Stoneham. He bought chiefly harness parts, "bras tips, top braces, harnes buckles, high dees, eye braces and loops."

A new name in June 1786, is "Joanathan Boyas" (Boyce) his wife's uncle, who bought 3 pairs of Buckles and more the following February. To him is also charged "To a pick mended at Fosters, 0-1-0". And in May he made a pair of silver buckles for Jonathan Boyce.

Joseph Poor's account begins November 14, 1788, for weaving, buckles and "sleve butens" a kee, a Skimer, 5 pounds of eles, 5 shillings, half a day's work, 0-1-6, mending a kittle, 0-1-0, half a bushel of appels, 0-2-0, one bushel of petaters, 0-2-0. Five pecks of petaters 0-2-6, a fish, 3d., a peck and a half of Flax seed, 0-2-3," closing with "This day Recned all accounts with Joseph Poor and Remaned Due to me 1-1-0. [Signed] Henry Buxton. Joseph Poor".

In August, 1792, Joseph Ausgood bought 2 pair of "Sleve Butens" a pair of buckles, a barrel of apples, 0-11-3, one "flower" barrel, 0-1-2, 10 hundred of hay, 2-2-10, a total of 2-19-1. October 1793, to cash 0-12-0. To 2½ bushels "apels" 0-8-9, half a bushel of Onions 0-1-9. and more hay, at 5s.6d. a hundred, 6-13-6. In May, 1793, his account with John "Harthan" shows 14½ days work, 12 bunches of onions, 2 oz. of "Turnuup" seed, 0-1-0, 2½ days fishing and three days picking "appels", 0-600. The last entry is "April 18 1797, Joseph Poor, Dr. To 23 yards at ninepence per yard, 0-17-3. Sept. the 15, 1799, 14 yards of Diaper at 5d. per yard, 0-5-10. 17 yards of carpet at 9d. per yard, 0-12-9. July 26, 1800, 44 yards of cloth at 5d. per yard, 0-1804."

Six blank pages are left in the little book. As he did not die until 1827, his work undoubtedly went on, unless he was hampered by illness. His obituary shows the regard in which he was held by his fellow townsmen:

Died, at Danvers, Oct. 5, 1827, Mr. Henry Buxton, aged 87 years. He was long distinguished as a most upright and amiable man, and was esteemed by men of all parties for the simplicity of his disposition, the generosity of his temper, and for the friendliness of his heart. In his pursuits, his character was marked by integrity and industry, in the domestic circle by the endearing virtues of the father, husband and friend; but above all, for his contentment and resignation in every situation and on all occasions.

BOOK REVIEWS

EARLY AMERICAN TRADE WITH MAURITIUS. Edited by A. Toussaint. 1954, 86 pp., octavo, paper. Port Louis, Mauritius: Esclapon Ltd.

This interesting little book prepared by the chief archivist of the Isle of Mauritius is a very condensed history of American trade with the Island. In 15 pages the editor gives a brief summary of the principal facts in regard to the American trade. Then follows a collection of 38 documents taken from the files in Mauritius and in the State Department at Washington which illuminate the difficulties of the American trade at the Island, and then follows a calendar of all the American voyages to the Island from 1786 to 1810. All of this material is interesting and well edited.

By the calendar of voyages it is apparent that the trade which began with Mr. Derby's *Grand Turk* rose steadily from 1786 to the high point about 1790, and then declined as the Quasi War with France progressed to the low point of two voyages in 1794. It then rose for two or three years, only to reach a pretty low ebb in the years between 1799 and 1801. The high point was 98 voyages in 1805, from which it declined until Jefferson's wicked embargo stopped all American trade from December 1807 to April 1809. After the ships which had left America before the embargo had arrived, there were only two more before October 1809, when the post-embargo ships began to arrive. It is difficult to understand what good it did our foreign relations with France and England to starve the Isle of France for eighteen months, which was the result, as we were the chief suppliers of provisions to the Island. Ms. Toussaint does not recognize the difficulties of the embargo, however. We have only noticed one slip. The frigate *Essex* did not bring her convoy back around Cape Horn, but around the Cape of Good Hope. This little slip, however, is a detail in a very good and valuable concise summary of our trade with the Island.

James Duncan Phillips

HAWTHORNE'S DOCTOR GRIMSHAWE'S SECRET. Edited, with an introduction and notes, by Edward H. Davidson. 1954, 305 pp., octavo, cloth. Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press. Price, \$5.00.

Mr. Davidson has here presented the complete texts of Hawthorne's preliminary studies and drafts of his last romance. Hawthorne left orders that his unfinished works were to be destroyed but this was not done. Julian Hawthorne edited the two drafts by interpolating sentences and paragraphs of his own and by completely rearranging the text and published the results as "Dr. Grimshawe's Secret." The full text with scholarly fidelity has been presented with all of Hawthorne's marginal notes, comments, variants, deletions, punctuations and spelling. Mr. Davidson has written a comprehensive introduction of the events and incidents which lead up to Hawthorne's unsuccessful attempts to write this romance. Hawthorne's notes and comments of what he was trying to do, the problems he faced and finally the fact that he just couldn't finish it the way he wanted to make a fascinating study for a writer who at one time or another has come up against a "writer's block." Presented in this manner one sees an author's struggle to get his material and plot in working order, how he shifts from one view point to another, how he vacillates from one idea to another and finally how he throws up his hands and says, "What's the use!"

THE ROMANCE OF TIME. By Brooks Palmer. 1954, 54 pp., quarto, paper, illus. New Haven, Conn.: Clock Manufacturers Association of America, Inc. Price, \$1.00.

Mr. Brooks has presented in this book a concise history of clocks and watches. The emphasis is primarily on American makers, and manufacturers with brief biographies of the principal makers. It is the story of time from the early beginnings to the latest synchronized electric clock with the last chapter on the part played by the watch industry in time of war. The book is well illustrated and there is a bibliography.

FREE LOVE AND HEAVENLY SINNERS, THE STORY OF THE GREAT HENRY WARD BEECHER SCANDAL. By Robert Shaplen. 1954, 273 pp., octavo, cloth, illus. New York: Alfred A. Knopf. Price, \$3.95.

This is a simple direct account of the six months trial of Henry Ward Beecher for adultery with Mrs. Theodore Tilton and the events which led up to it. Beecher at the time was minister of the Plymouth Church in Brooklyn, N. Y. and one of the prominent ministers and evangelists of the time. "In the strange unfolding of events there was a fateful irony. One thing led to another in such perfect catenation that truth indeed became stranger than fiction." From the event of Mrs. Tilton telling her husband of her sin until the aftermath of the trial, Mr. Shaplen has reported the case objectively with a fine eye for detail in the modern manner. He also has a rare understanding of the moral and religious background of the period. Mr. Shaplen has used the original sources to great advantage especially the court transcription. Sections of the book have appeared in the *New Yorker*.

HUGH ROY CULLEN, A STORY OF AMERICAN OPPORTUNITY. By Ed Kilman and Theon Wright. 1954, 376 pp., octavo, cloth, illus. New York: Prentice-Hall, Inc. Price, \$4.00.

This is a well written fascinating biography of the "king of the Texas wildcatters" and the founder of the Cullen Foundation. Here is a story of a lad from a typical small town who worked his way to the top by means of hard work, courage and the foresight to stand by his convictions. Messrs. Kilman and Wright trace his career as a cotton broker, a real estate man and as an oil producer. At the present time Mr. Cullen is devoting as much energy to the Christian spending of his fortune as he did to the acquiring of it. Mr. Cullen is a rugged individualist and his biography should be an inspiration to the youth of today.

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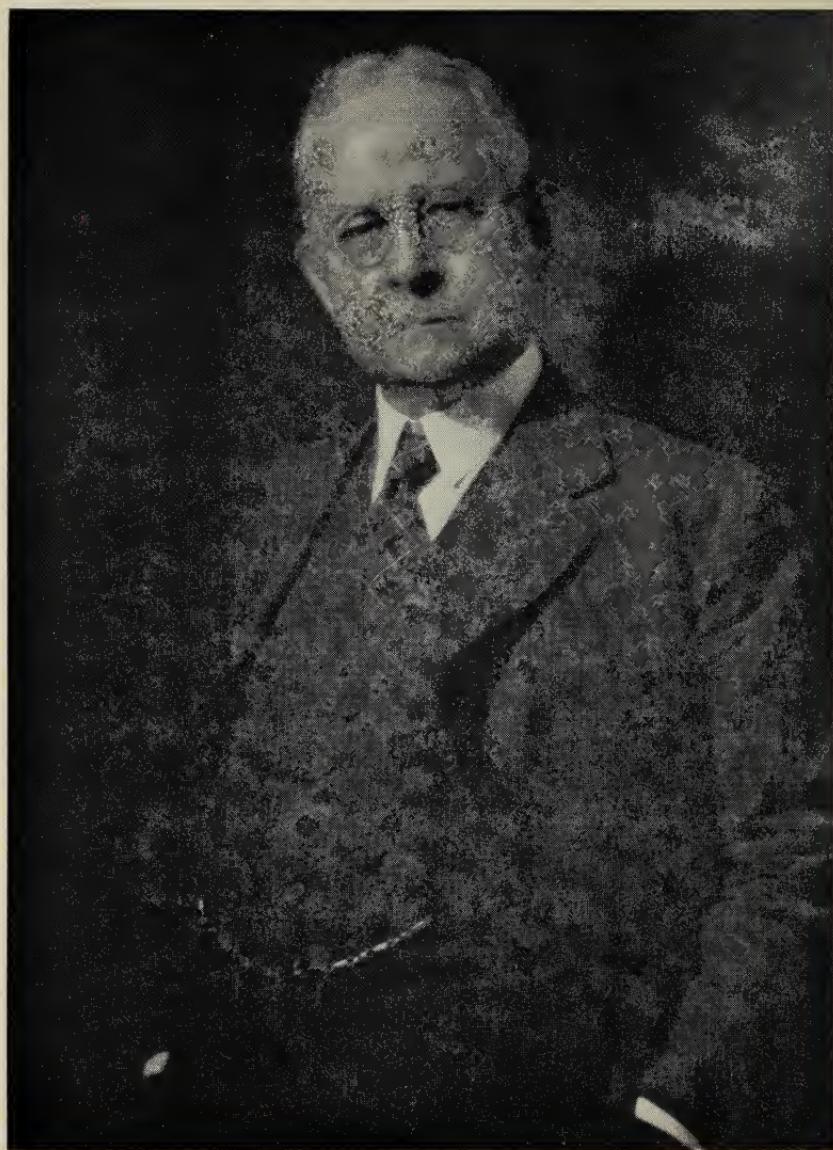
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JAMES DUNCAN PHILLIPS
1876 - 1954

ESSEX INSTITUTE

HISTORICAL COLLECTIONS

VOL. XCI

APRIL, 1955

No. 2

IN MEMORIAM

JAMES DUNCAN PHILLIPS

James Duncan Phillips, who died at Topsfield, Massachusetts, on October 19, 1954, was born at San Francisco on February 5, 1876, the younger son of Stephen H. and Margaret (Duncan) Phillips. His father, who had been attorney-general in Hawaii, remained in California for only a few years before returning to Salem, the home of his forebears, where Duncan passed through the Salem High School to Harvard College, from which he was graduated in 1897 *magna cum laude*. Many years later his achievements were recognized by his election to membership in the Phi Beta Kappa Society.

After a brief experience in a cotton mill he found a job in Houghton, Mifflin Company where he was soon assigned to the firm's educational department, which grew rapidly under his energetic direction. This led to his election as treasurer of the corporation in 1915, and as vice-president in 1922, positions which he held until 1940 and 1941, respectively. His ability as an executive contributed much to the growth of the firm's business until a serious heart attack in 1936 made necessary a careful limitation of his business activities. Through his remaining 18 years all forms of physical exertion were restricted, but his eager and inquiring mind was very active and his increasing leisure was filled to overflowing with historical research and writing.

The list of his printed addresses, biographical sketches, miscellaneous articles and books is a long one, and by far the greater part of them date from his last twenty years, when his major obligations in the business world were be-

hind him. He developed the farm which he had bought at Topsfield into a beautiful estate, and in his library there accumulated a valuable collection of documents relating to the history of Essex County. Most of his writings are about persons or events in that locality and his most important literary work was his history of *Salem in the Seventeenth Century* (1933), *Salem in the Eighteenth Century* (1937), *Salem and the Indies* (1947), *Pepper and Pirates* (1949), and *Salem in the Nineties* (1953), which carries the story into the early decades of the nineteenth century. All his historical writings are the product of a well-trained mind, disciplined to thorough research and impartial analysis, expressed clearly and vividly with full appreciation of the drama of life.

For fifty years he was deeply interested in the work and resources of the Essex Institute, having become a member in 1904; one of its Council in 1931; Chairman of its Library and Publication Committee from 1939 on; and Vice President from 1951 until his death. Many of his occasional papers were published in the Institute's *Collections*. He was also a member of the Club of Odd Volumes, of the Salem Marine Society, of the Colonial Society of Massachusetts, and the Massachusetts Historical Society.

He did not, however, become a scholar seeking a secluded life, for his human interests were many, widespread and generous. He and his wife, Nannie J. Borden, whom he married in 1907, had travelled widely in Europe; had visited Australasia, the East Indies and Ceylon; and had toured Africa from Capetown to Cairo. At home he took an active part in civic affairs. At an early age he was, for a brief period, a member of the Salem Common Council, and was later active in the reserve officers training program. He was a president of the North Shore Harvard Club and a vice-president of the Associated Harvard Clubs.

In 1930, he was elected a trustee of Governor Dummer Academy in Byfield, and soon afterwards became president of its Board of Trustees, a position which he held to his death. The history of the Academy, going back to the middle of the 18th Century, and the educational opportunities which it could still offer to the oncoming generations, had a great appeal to his constructive mind and heart,

and the ability with which he served it was a major influence in its re-habilitation on a stable basis after a long period of decline due to inadequate resources. It was fitting that his funeral service should have been held at the Academy.

Duncan Phillips held to the highest standards of integrity in his business affairs; he was considerate and just in all his dealings with employees; and he was generous in meeting human needs. His warm-hearted genial sociability won him a host of friends in many parts of this country and abroad and their respect for his character and his achievements was equalled by their affection for him as a man. With gratitude we remember his long, serviceable and honorable life.

H.W.F.

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by
JAMES DUNCAN PHILLIPS

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The Doyle Mansion: Some Memories & Anecdotes by Bessie D. Fabens — E.I.H.C., 84:1; Jan., 1948.

BENJAMIN ROPES' AUTOBIOGRAPHY

CONTRIBUTED BY MISS MARY R. CATE

This is a partial autobiography written by Benjamin Ropes of Salem, a descendant of that George Ropes who was living in Salem in 1636. This Benjamin Ropes (Oct. 16, 1772 - July 29, 1845) was the son of Lieut. Benjamin Ropes, a Revolutionary soldier, and of Margaret Symonds Ropes. On May 13, 1803, he married Fanny Wilkins of Marblehead, who bore him eight children. Dr. Bentley describes him in his Diary (Vol. III, Dec. 22, 1809) as "a violent Republican and lately a Selectman, until he violated the Embargo laws; a speculator."

I Benjamin Ropes born in Salem Mass^{ts} October 1772, of Good & Pious Parents, When About Six Years of age my Father Died of the Camp Fever so caled which was brought into the Famly by one of my Mothers Brothers from Hali-faux. & left myself with One Brother & Sister younger¹ with Nothing to Support us except what she could Obtain by her Own Industry together with what Little assistance we could give as we grew in years, She Keeping us at shool except when we could Obtain imployment. When About Sixteen years of age She put me to my uncle Samuel Ropes to Learn the Coopers Trade Keeping my Brother at home to help support the Famly. I was to serve two years She finding me Board & Clothing. I intended to have lernt my Brother the Same Trade after I had served my time & laboured at Jornimans Imployment a sufficient time to be capable of so doing — but Providence had otherwis Determined.

When my time had expired my Uncle employed me. I went to the wharf with a boy in the month of January to pack a Hogshead of Fish; being short handed I exerted myself beyond my strength by which I sprained my brist² which

1 "Brother & Sister:" James, b. 1744: Margaret, b. 1776(?)

2 "sprained my brist:" probably an old name for tuberculosis.

caused me to raise blood every morning at my rising from that time untill June following & Sweeting to a great Degree During thee nights. I found I grew Weeker Daily, so that I could walk but a Short Distance without resting.

I finely found I could do nothing at home the Hot weather, I determined on a fishing Voyge for my halth leaving my Brother at home to assist my Mother & Sister. Accordinly I engaged with Capt. Ebenezer Symonds in Schooner *Volant* one of Mr. Wm. Cabots vesails from whom I ricived the Kindest of Treatment both from the Captain & Owner. We sailed from Salem in the Month of June for the Bay of St. Lawrence after my seasickness I found by change of Climate & Diet that Appetite improved, but Still raising some Blood in the Mornings, but I grew in Strength & by Degrees the raising of blood Subsided although I feel the wound to this Day. When I returned which was in the Month of September following, to my surprise & grief my Brother had lost his hand During my absence by the bursting of a gun of which I was not informed till Just as I entered the Door, you can best Judge what such Shocking News must have bin to me a Brother whom I highly Prized & considering my Mothers Support was cut of. Soon after I was Discharged from the Vsail I applied to my Uncle Samuel Ropes for imployment, he informed me he had a Suffisent Number of hands at that time but advised me to go to work at my trade at the North Bridge, & he had no Doubt I should do well, I Observed to him I had no means warwith to begin, he said his Famly was large & his business would but barly give him Support, but advised me to Call on one of my Rich Relatons³ for thirty Dollars, which he thought would do for me to begin with, as I should work alone, but I was refused. I then Informed him that I was refused, he said he could not have belived it, & seemed much suprised, as the One I applied to was trading to Sea & would want my work in a Short time, which I offered him, although he had no vsails then at home. he then advised to call on Mr. Mils Ward,⁴ the then Lumber Merchant which I did, & he grant-

³ "one of my Rich Relations:" probably Jerathmeel Peirce, builder of the Peirce - Nichols house, who was married to Sarah Ropes, sister of Lt. Benjamin Ropes. He was a shipowner, and family tradition reports him as "a little near."

⁴ Miles Ward.

ed my request with cheerfullness, & furnised me with what I then wanted, which I belive amounted to about fifteen or twenty Dollars. I then went to work & the first call I had was from Cap. John Tucker⁵ an exelent young Man, he paid me so soon as I had Done the Job, which amounted to About fifty Dollars. I immideatly paid Mr. Ward, & had a suffientcy left to purchase more Stock. Thus I began with nothing, I continued still at my Business untill I was able to employ a number Jornimen, & some apprentices & had a good run of work from a great part of the Merchants in Salem. My Brother Still lying Idle without a friend to Offer any assistance, so soon as I was able I bult him a Small Shop at the North Bridge as a Grocery, & furnished all the Stock I could possably spare which was about One hundred Dollars, & he Took Charge of it, & we Joined Stock & Trade togather, we then Continued our business erly & late, got a small Surplus that we could Spare with witch we bought One third part of a small fishing Schooner, which we Kept for two or three years & then sold her to Mr. Lord of Ipswich, She not being profitable. The Next Vesail we ware concernc nd in was the Schooner *Lydia*⁶ which we with George Bradish⁷ & Mr. Brown bought from Mr. Willson of Marblehead, my Brother & myself holding one third, we sent on fishing voyges for two years, I at the same time acting as Storman, employing her in the Winter Season to the Southward & West Indias. She Done tolerably will, at lingth Mr. Brown wishing to Sell his third part, Bradish & ourselves Bought his part. we then loaded her with a good Cargo for the Wist Indias, George Bradish Master, Sailed I believe in the Month of June, for the Wist Indias & arrived safe out, & was in a fair prispect for a Saving Voyage, but on his return home, was tacken by The french,⁸ & we lost Vesail & Cargo, About half Insured. Bradish Returned home by the way of Buffums Corner as is the Old Saying. well now What is to be Done, Why take our Insuronce Mony, buy another Vesail, and of a frightening, well agreed. Bradish Proceds to Boston, buys a Schooner

⁵ Capt. John Tucker.

⁶ *Lydia* schooner, 58 tons, reg. Jan. 9, 1799 and July 5, 1799.

⁷ Often spelled Bradshaw.

⁸ This was during the "undeclared" war with France.

called the *Harriet*⁹ for about twenty one hundred Dollars, & proed to Norfolk Virginia for freight, & Obtained a full freight for Kingston, Jamica, at which place he arived safe, Delived his freight, recived his freight money, and proed for New Orleans, & arrived safe at port. he then Invests his freight mony in Sugar Box Stuf etc, fills up with freight, Proeds to Havana, lands his Cargo in the hands La Qusta & proeds back to New Orleans, for freight whish he Obta [illegible] & Returns to Havana. on his Return La Qusta had faild, Owing him About three thousand Dollars, he could Obtain Nothing from him, Except One thousand Dollars which was alowed in exchange of Visails, La Qusta had a Snow which he Valued at three thousand Dollars, which he had at freight for her for Hispanola, & Bradish exchange for the Snow, allowing him three thousand & Valuing thee Schooner at two thousand Dollars, remander remains in his Heirs hands to this day, & I never expect to Obtain one Cent. Bradish Proeds on his Voyage with his freight for Hispanola, & arrives safe, at Port of Distanation, Delivers his freight & procids for home. on his pasage was Taken by the English, but they had a hard Horse to ride, for in a few Day after they captured him he got the better of the Prize Master, retook his Visail & Brought her safe into Salem, we then repaired the Snow & fixed on a Voyage for New Orleans, partly on our Own Account, & partly freight. She Sailed I think in the Month of Dec^r. for New Orleans, George Bradish Master, Joseph Henderson Second Officer, & arrived safe at her port of Distination, Cap. Bradish Unloaded the Snow, & reloaded her for the Havana, with Sugar Box Stuff, & appointed Joseph Henderson his first officer to the Command for the Havana, he rem[ain]ing at New Orleans to Dispose of her Cargo, Henderson Proeds on his Voyage, arrives safe at the Mouth of the River, while thir come on a gale of Wind Drove her on Shore & was lost Vesciel & Cargo, partly Insured but a small part, I wrot to Capt. Bradish to buy Another Vesciel his answer to me was that exprance had taught him that he should never Obtain any thing by Trading to Sea,— Thus ends the first Campagan.

9 *Harriot* schooner, 101 tons, reg. Feb. 14, 1801.

Our next Adventure was on board the Schooner *Betsy*, David Smith Master, bound for St. Jago De Cuba, we had on board about forty Hogds fish some lard etc. She sailed from this in February, soon after She Sailed Came on a heavy Gale of Wind from the N. E. Drove her on Shore at Cape Cod where She Bulged & Nearly filed with water. Lighters took her Cargo brought it to Salem, very much Damiged, we unpacked the fish put in on the Flakes to re-dry, but the warter had extracted nearly all the Salt so that it was but of Little Value, almost a Totall Loss, No Insurance. We also had on board Cap Cook one Three Ships St[r]anded on Cape Cod About Sixteen hundred Dollars worth of Cococa No Insurance.

We afterwards bought Schooner *Betsey*¹⁰ from Capt David Smiths Estate, brought her to the North River, gave her a thourough repair, made a Brig of her, Chartered one half of her for a Voyage to France, to Cap Jon^a Mason, loaded the Other half our selves, She Went the Voyage & Returned safe, we afterward loaded her again for France. She pro-ceded on the Voyage & Returned safe, made two tolerable good Voyges, we then Chartered one half of her to Capt. James Tilsen [Silver?] for a Voyage to the Havanah, loading the Other half ourselves, She Sailed in the Month of May, & in Nine Days out was stranded on Ubico riff Near the Havanah, Vesal & Most of the Cargo lost, partly insured, here we had a prospect of a Great Voyage having on board Sattins & other articles which agreeable to Letters ricived but the evening before I heard of her loss — must have paid a Griat fright, & Sugar Low thein, & in great Demand here, —

About this time we chartered one half of the Schooner *Good Intent*¹¹ She went one Voyage to Europe with Cargo of Grain, Returned safe Small Voyage, & one Voyage to Havanah Saving Voyage. We then fixed on a Voyage to St. Thomas & Laguria, with Orderes to Procede to St. Jago De Cuba, Provided She could not Obtain Admitance at Laguria, Accordingly She saild, I belive in the Month of August, Arived Saft at St. Thomas, Sold part of her Cargo at St. Thomas, & Proceded for Lagurra, agreeabl to Instructions,

10 *Betsey* brig, 121 tons, reg. Jan. 7, 1804 and May 7, 1806.

11 *Good Intent* schooner, 89 tons, James Silver, master.

on her arrival the Port was Shut against Trade from America, of course She Proceded for St. Jago De Cuba, when within About two Mils of her Port was tacken by A French Privatier, Carid to St. Jago De Cuba, Tacken Possion of by the Spanish Goverment, Who Ordered the Cap & Crew on Shore, the Captain Abanbonded her, & Returned home, She Sold from one third to half of her Cargo at St. Thomas, for which She had on board between Seven & eight thousand Dollars in Spicia, which was Deposited in the Royal Treasury, thus we lost Vesail & Cargo. About half Isured, we endeavored to Obtain Indemnification from goverment under the late Triaty with Spain, but was regeeted.

The Next Vesail was Scooner *Aphia*,¹² whom we Bought from George Nichols & Benj. A. Peirce, for which we gave them About two Thousand Dollars, Sent one Season a fishing, Joseph Henderson Commander. made a Small Voyge, we then sold one third of her to Issac N. Chapman, who went one Voyge to France & two to the Wist Indias fair Voyges, Anxious to get some Redress for the *Good Intent*, We loaded the Scooner *Aphia* for Martinque & Gaudulop, with fish, Flour, etc Isaac Champman, Master, Joseph Henderson Passanger, She Accordingly Sailed for Marntincue Arived Safe, found a good markett, Sold & loaded with Sugar & Coffee, & was macking a Good Voyge, She Sailed for Gaudelope arived Safe, but before Capt Hinderson left the Schooner, their came on a Hurricane, we expect she sunk at her Anchors, as we never heard any thing from her afterwards, was lost Crew, Vesail & Cargo, She was partly Insurd, About this time I bought one half of the Brig *Friendship* She went a Number of Voyges to Different Parts of the World, made Some fair Voyges & some Ordinary, We finly Sold her.

The Next Vesel that my Brother & myself Bought was the Ship *Mary*,¹³ from John Norris Esq, for which we gave him five Thousand Dollars, Sold One third part of her to Captain Wm. Lander, Who went her Commander, The first Voyge was to the Southward for a fright, which She Obtained for Europe, & Returned home Touching at Moga-

12 *Aphia* schooner, 77 tons, reg. Sept. 8, 1804.

13 *Mary* ship, 176 tons, reg. Mar. 23, 1807, William Lander, master.

dore for Investment of her fright Mony, which She invested in goat Skins etc & Returned to Salem, From the Prospect, we Determined on a Voyge to Mogadore, & immidiatly purched Such articles as we Judged would best answer the Markett, & Determined on Dispatch as fast as posable, as Capt Holman was bound to the Sams port, and About ready to Sail When Captain Lander arrived, we got thee Ship in Order as fast as posable, On Monday Morning the Ship lay at the wharfe, with no Person belonging to her except the Captain, with her galimat Strack, having bin hauled from the graring ways the Sautirday Night Previous, I says to Capt Lander, if you say yes, we will have the Ship ready for Sea by Night, he Laughed & thought it not Posable, you get the mate & Crew & yourself Ready, & we will have the Ship loaded & Ready before we Sleep, Cap Lander left us to engage his Mate & Crew & found & engaged them in a Short time, having his Mate & part of the Crew that was with him the last Voyge, We Immediatly set at work loading the Ship, One gang putting the riging in Order & binding sales, One in the whole Stowing, & One on the Deck & wharf to hand them the goods so fast as they could stow them; befor twelve Oclock at Night the Ship was ready for Sea, & before two Oclocke in the Morning her papers ware all Complet & handed to Captain Lander, who went to Sea on Wednday morning following, The Wind being to the Estwerd on Tusday, & arrived in port One or two Days Previous to Captain Holmans arriving, the reason I am thus Particular, is because, I do not belive the like was ever done in Salem, before, or Since. Captain Lander ware to procede from this to Mogedore, purchase a Cargo of Almond Miats, & Procede to Amsterdam in Holland, She arived safe at Amsterdam, Sold her Cargo tolerably well, & was in a fair way for a Saving Voyge, after She had landed her Cargo, & ballisted for home, thir came on a Gale of Wind, drove her on Shore, & She was lost, the largest part of her Cargo being in Spiccia, about eighteen thousand Dollars was saved, Cap Lander Came home Pasanger, — Partly insured.

Wm. P. Symonds & myself Chartered for Some time one half of the brig *Martha*,¹⁴ we Finly bought one half of her, from James Silver & Curtis Searl, She Made a Number of

¹⁴ *Martha* brigantine, 110 tons, reg. Dec. 3, 1807 and May 1, 1809.

Voyges some good & some bad, & was at Last Stranded on the Horse Shoe so called near New York, almost a Total Loss, Thus I have ennumerted the Principle Losses, although thier are Some Minor Ones that I have not MENTIONED, & Althought we had met with such a Multiplcty of Losses, & seemed to us hard to bear them, yet we had anough left to pay every Cent we Owed, & Surplus left, Provided we had ben Delt with Fairly, or as one Man ought to do by Another, But O that Fatale day the fourth of June 1810 —

we then had on hand one half Brig *Independance*, Brig *Argus*, & Schooner *Saucy Jack* at Sea only, *Independence* & *Argus* lying at the wharf. & I Judged we had a Suffisincy of Goods in Store to pay every Cent we Owed, & had Provided we had bin Dealt fairly by, I shoud say, I could have Obtained betwin twenty & thirty thousand Dollars, for what Neated only betwen Nine & Ten thousand Dollars, after Deducting Such a Multiplcty of Alowanabl Charges, the Coffee for One article, when Tacken from us, was worth 23ct. pd, When sold only brought 12 & 13 ct, thus we ware sackirfised & without a cause, I found the times ware growng Dificut, & Observed to Capt Willman, that I was Determined never to send Another Cent to Sea, untill every Dollar we Owed was paid, if requsted, then had a Number of Respectabl Merchants Failed Arround Us, & I was Determined not be caught in the Trap, of course We ware paying our Debts so fast as we could Sell our Goods to Adantage, I should say we had paid three fourths of them, We Owed the Essex Bank a large Sum, we had paid. as also the Salem & Beverly Banks, we had paid all except one Note, & cosiderabl many Individuals we had paid, & ware paying so fast as we posably could, & every one would have had their pay, & left us some Stock, bisides our Shipping, as we had Cosiderable Demands against Others, But I say again O that Fatell Day the 4th of June 1810

We Owed Richard Manning¹⁵ a Sum of Mony, which we

15 Richard Manning (1776-1813) ran the stage coaches from Salem to Boston. His daughter Elizabeth was the mother of Nathaniel Hawthorne. It is possible that Mr. Manning was hard pressed in 1810 because of the needs of his widowed daughter and her young family. Ironically, some of the descendants of Benjamin Ropes and Richard Manning became close friends.

hired of him during the Embargo, paid him twelve pr. Cent for, & renewed the Notes every Sixty days, it happened the Notes ware Due the Sauturday Previous to the 4th of June, Artillery Election day, I caled in the evining of Sauturday, to pay him the Intrest, he remarked to me he should like to have us pay him part of our Notes, he Said he would take it in Coffee at a fair price, I told him I had not the lest Ojection, & that Cap Willman was going to Boston on Mondy & would return in the evening, & on Tuesday we would attend to it, Capt Wellman Proceds to Boston on Monday, I met Mr. Dutch by the wharf, with Cap Gamaiel Hodges, he remarked he had a Demand against us, & Wished me to go to the Store, I asked him from whom the Demand was from, he says from Cap Hodges, I told him I did not owe him any thing, & asked him to let me see it, I then found it was Manings Paper, I left them, & went Immidiatry to Mr. Manning, found him at home, & asked him what he ment by such triatment, told him it was shameful, asked him if he did not agree to Wait till Capt Wellman Returned from Boston, & then tache Coffee, he says yes, but I had a Chance to Dispose of your paper, & have done it, well Sir I cant Say but you have ruined me, & left him, upon this every Demand that was Due, was Sued, mechncks and all, we then had but one Vesail at Sea, Schooner *Saucy Jack*, which we conveyed (her) to a man in town, with which he took of all the Suits againt us Except Hodges for About three thousand Dollars, — had I have had any Idia of this tacking Plan, we should have asigned our property, when I expt it would have Neated nearly Trupple, to what it did in the way it was Sekrefised, When the failers took place in this town, I suffered Considerable by indorsing, I paid A Number of Notes at the Bank & Elsware for which I never recived one Cent, I have bad Paper & Demands on hand to the Amount of thirty thousand Dollars, I had pretty Little estate, House & land Situted in Williams Street, which I lost, all but a trifle, by endorsing Lemuel Paysons Note, Payson had a Note Signed by himself & endorsed by Albert Grey, for which he wished to Obtain thee Mony, Cap Peter Lander would furnish it, on Condision, I would become the Second Endorser, which I concented to, as I did in all Other casses

when ever I was requested, Payson gave me a Policy of Insurance for Security, but the Captain Deviated from his instructions, the Property was lost, & lost my Estate, without reciving one Cent, Except one Hat, I expect the Mony belonged to Mr. Wm. Gray, as Mr. Grey's heirs now Owns the Estate. My Brother also had three Pieces of Real Estate in North Salem, by which he lost Considerable Sum of Mony, The Mason place, he bought for Which he was to pay Fifty five hundred Dollars, on reciving the Deid, he paid two thousand Dollars, & gave a Mortarge for thee ballance, but Real Estate Deprictating In Value, it sold for barly anough to pay the Morgage he lost the two thousand Dollars, he also bought the Tredwell place at the Horse pasture so Called, & he & Wm. P. Symonds bought the Corner lot Opposite Groces Corner, by these Purchases he also lost, he says about three thousand Dollars, in the whole, Thire are two losses which I have not Mentioned Heretofore, One the Schooner *Hero*, Wm Upton master, Capt Wellman with myself Chartered one half from Jeduther Upton he loaded the Other half, for the West Indias, During the Voryge the Captain Died, She went into St Bartholews, the Goverment took Charge of the Vesail & Cargo, appointed an Aggent, & he Disposed of the whole as he pleased, Crediting about Eighteen hundred Dollars, for which we never recived one Cent, I cannot here State how much we lost but say a very bad Voyge, —

We had on board the Bark *Pacific*, an adventure, of Tobaco & Logowood, She was taken by the Deans, Carried into Norway, Condemned Vesail & Cargo, No Insurance, the Captain of the Barque Beckett, remined with her till the Cargo was Sold, & he informed me that our goods sold for upwards of Ten Thousand Dollars, —

Thus I have Detailed some of the Losses & Crosses of two, of the Most unfunate Creatures, I belive I may say, that their is in this Town, & belive thier are not many, but what like Job, would have cursed the Day of thir birth, & would have got from existance as soon as posable, but I will not ripine at the hand of Providence, I had the Vanity to think, that I had as many friends as any one, but I find it all a Delusion, for when the Hours of Darkness & Distress came on, they liek the Dicples, all forsook me and

fled, & those I had befreinded the most ware my worst Enemies. Now what shall I do, having lost & given up all my Property, look at me a sight anough to melt a hart of Stone, with a Famly of Small Children,¹⁶ without a Dollar warewith to Support them, House & all gone, No Friend that care to give me any Assistance, or imployment, What Shall I do, famly a Suffering, myself no Peace, almost Driven to Distraction, but I will Trust in God for Vain is the help of Man

About this time the War came on, & being Friendly to the goverment, that Goverment I allways mean to Support, & which I have Spent time & Mony to Support, I voluntied my Services, to the Support of my Country, I received a Commision as a Captain, which I accepted with cherfulness, & called on Heaven, to Support & Protect, my Infant famly, for I Knew it was usless to Call on Man, I had held a Commison as Captain in the Millitia for the Space of Ten Years, which Cost me a heavy tax, besides, a great deal of time, & Trouble, The first Duty I was called to, was the recruiting Service, which I persued to the bist of my Ability. Policits runing high, I met with great Opposion, & Ill Treatment, the Enemies of Goverment, giving me Abusive Langgue, hising me, as I pased the Streets, but None of those things moved me, for I Knew I was Defending thee rights of my Country, a Country Dearer to me than Life, or I should Never have offered my life in its Support, & I was Determined, if life was spared, to persiviere to the End, after recruiting a large Number of Men, & that two with a great Deal of Labour & Fetigue, the Opposion, opposing with all their Strength, the enlisting of Men, I ricived the Pleasing Order from Coln. Tuttle, to repair to Greenbush in the State of New Yorke, with a Detachement then at Charlstown, but before I marched, I received a Counter Order, to repair to the Cantonement at Pittsfield, & report myself to the Commanding Officer at that Post, On this march as hertofore, I met some friends & Some Enemies, On my arrivale I reported myself to Coln. Aspinwall, the then Comanding Officer, who gave an Order to tache Charge of the Cantomment, as he was

16 "a Family of Small Children:" Benjamin Gardner, b. 1804; Fanny Wilkins, b. 1806; Henry James, b. 1809.

Ordered to the Frinteer, the Counter Order from Conl. Tuttle was now explained to me, I remained at Pittsfield some Months, When I was relived by Captain Foster, & recived an Order to procide to the Froontir, I immediatly comminced my march, with all the Troops that belonged to the 21st Regt, that was at that Post, I was on this March from the last of Febaury, till the 11th of April, when we went into Tents at Buffalo, here we lay untill the 2d of July, at Night, Under the Command of Genl. Brown, The Orders that we driled under ware as follow at Revelee which was at day light, thee Whole Armeys ware on Drill, except What ware on Guard, they Drlied from that time untill Seven Oclock, when they ware Dismised for Refreshment, at Nine Oclock the whole Ware on Prarade, Guards Turned of, & Troops Dismised, at 10 Oclock, the whole of the Troops aut again to Drill till 12 Oclock, by Companies, Troops Dismised for Dinner, at 2 Oclock, again the whole out for Drill, by Reghtmets, Brigades, & Divesision, Drill till 5 Oclock, at 6 Oclock the Commisiond Officers, drill the Non Commisiond Officers, one hour, & at Sunsett, the whole Army out for evening rool call, in Adition to this, Guard, Police, & washing Duty, when I was on Duty, either as Officer of the day, or Guard, my Company was Commanded by my Sergent, as I had no Commisioned Officer attached to me not two months, all the time I was on the Froentiers,

At evening rool call on the Second of July 1814 we ware Ordered to cross Into Canidia at the foot of lake Erie General Scoot with the first Brigade all below & Genl Riply with the Second brigade abouve fort Erie, I belonged to the Second Brigade Commanding a Company in the bold 21st Rigimint we ware from evining rool call untill the Next Morning 6 Oclocke before the whole of the Second Brigade ware Landed on the Canadia Shore we thin filed of though the Woods untill we Met the first Brigade inclosing the fort from right to lift the Margin of the lake being in front their ware a few Disha [Discharges?] from the Artily both from the Enimy & oursilves. Genl. Brown then Demanded a Surrender of the fort which the Enimy Concedeted to I should say about four Oclock in the afternoon. we then took Charge of the Prisonirs Marched Opposit to black

rocke under the Tune of Yonca Doodle & Transportid theem across the Niagara river in boats to the Amerian Shore we left at Fort Eri One Company of Artiliry Under Comand of Capt Williams & incamped that Night Opposite black Rock I was detailed that Night as brigade Officere of the Day & had to Visit the Picqut Guards twice During the Night, the Next Morning being July 4th we fired at Fort Eri a National Salute About Noon the first Brigade Marched for Chippawa in pirsut of the Enimy & had some Scurshming with them Near Chippawa, the Second Brigade Under Genl Riply cominced its March about the midle of the afternoon in the evining thier came on a thunder Storm & rained very havey which made it bad marching as the roads were princly Clay, About midnight we arrived at Strutsfilds near the Chippawa River after Detailing & posting the guards we ha[d] Liberty to lie down on the ground for two or three hours which was coverd with water owing to the Clayey surfise, this was the first rist that I had received from the Night of the first Inst. & it was very switt although wit & Lying as it ware on the water

About eight Oclock in the Morning I was Detailed to on the Advance piquet No one I caled on Genl Riply told him I bin on Duty three Nights & two Days & was afrid I should not be able to do my Duty, although I would go with cherfulness, his answer was as you are Detailed you had better go & thier Shall no Detail be made you may tacke your own Company from the line which Cocisted of betwin Sivnty & eighty min & you Shall be relived at Sun-set. About eight Oclock I moved with my Company to relive Capt. Hinderson of the first Brigade with Sixty rounds pr Man when I was leaving the Camp Capt Triat Commanding piquet No 4 was Driven from his post by the Indians our Artilry then Opened on the Indians & Dove them into the Woods. Capt Triat used his best exertions but in Vain untill they had retreated a Considerable Distance I arrived at my Post & relived the Other guard Cap Towson with his Company of Artilry was also Ordered to Support the guard was Situated at an Old Log House near the road I immediatly recorntireed [reconnoitered?] the ground & found it not safe to Keep on post not more than one Centinel but indivore to Keep the enemy at bay with

Patrols under Charge of Non Commisioned Officers, I imideatley tore away the Side of the House that faced the Enimy as I also built a brestworke across the road to river which was but a Short Distance we had considerable Scurmishing the foornoon So much that I sent to Camp before the Action became Generl for a Cask of Cartirgs after Dinner Generl Brown Viseted me gave me Orders to call in my Patrols Saying he had Ordered a forse into the woods of Indians & Volninters Suffisent to bring in the Enemys Advance which was on the South Side of the River The Enemy burnt all the buldings on the South side of the river whch wen we Saw we expected the enemy ware on the retreat while Generl Brown was with me Our Indian & Volintiers Met the Enemies Indians & Advance in the woods within Muskett Shot of us at which the Indians gave a dreadful Yell & battle commencl Genl Brown hasted To Camp rode out with his Aids pased the guard a Short Distance & returned Saying to me the enemy ware in forse across the River returned to Camp ordered the first brigade to Advance the battle in the woods Continuing but before the first Brigade advanced to the plien the Enemy had got the ground Displaid thir Colmn thir right resting on the woods, thir left on the Niagura rivir, so soon as the Enmy had uncovered their Artillery they Cominced a full fire on our Guard also Cap Tuvson opened on them, with great Fury & Genl Scoot advancing after he had crossed a Small Creek that lay in the rear of the guard he half weeld to the lift to meet him thir Artillery then changed thir Direction of fire, In the rear of Scott Towson advancd, so soon as uncoved Contind his fire Scoot advanced on the plain Displaid his Colmn & action became Generl — I fell in with guard on the left of his first Bettalion The Second Brigade ware at this time advanceing through the Woods to Attack the Enemey on his right Flank & Cut of his retreat but ther broke & fell Backe & reformed but Stood but a Short time then broke in Confussion & retreated across the Bridge to his works before the Second Brigade could get in their reare had they have Stood thirty Minuats longer I have no Doubt we should have made Sterling of the whole we pursed them to Near the bridge which they had Droped the Center of, which lie in front of their works they Opened thier Artil-

liry without much Effect Genl Brown finly Ordered the Troops to return to Camp or to use his own words So good & so good we may as will return to Camp we lost in Killed & wounded About four hundred men & I expect the enemy lost six hundred, they had a betallion of the Royal Scoots excelent Troops with Egeypt Marked on their brest Plats this betallein suffered Greatly, Our Doctr was verry angry after the Action the Enemy hove a Cannon Shot through his Marque in which lay his Hospital Stores Struck a Cask wine & he lost the whole,

I fell back to my guard post the Troops fell back to Camp, About Ten Oclock at Night came out a Relief of the guard but Skipt me on till the Next Day at 3 Oclock in the afternoon when I was rileved. All the Doctors in the army ware immedeaty implyed Dresing the woonded & when I left the guard at 3 Oclock they had not Dressed our Own Men & None of Eneny. maney of the woonded died that Night & the groans of the livining was Shocking, I went into the house ware they ware Dresing, their was not a room in the house but what they had a man on the Table amphetatting except one in which ware a Number of Britsh Officers Prisoners this battle was fought on the fifth of July 1814—

We then set at work to get a road through The Woods Abouve the Enimies works I think ware about four Days I shoud Judge a Distance of about four Mils I think on the fifth Day we commenced our march in the Morning thourough this road in Order to heave a Bridge across the rivir abouve their Works & batterys The first Brigade remaining in Camp we got through the woods to the bank of the river whare their was a farm I should Say About two Oclock in the afternoon we Immediatly Commenced Cutting Trees I should Say with One hundred Men whch gave the Alarm to the enemy they brought their force in front of wher we had began the bridge and which our Artillery Opposed the Infantry being employed bulding the Bridge with the fencing Rails from the farm & the trees we Cut, at this time Genl Scott attaked thier Workes with his Artilery we Continued building the Bridge till narly half across the river, when to our astonishment the enemey retreated & left their Works heaving thir Cannon into the river excpt what they could Cary of, we then marched

Down the river Abrest of their works & crossed the river in boats which took us from that time untill the Next Morning eight Oclock — we then pursued the enemy to Quenston & fort George ware they made a Stand — We besiged fort George three or four Days & then fell back by the way of Quenston to Chippawa the Eneny had on Quenston hights a Small Jarrison whch Dispersed on our Approach, here we recved an Order to transport all our baggage across the river to Lewestown except a Shirt and Knapsack to a Man, at this time I lost part of my bagage, we then Continued our March arrived at Chippawa before Sunset & Encamped for the Night, Placing our guards on the North Side of the River, we encamping on the South The Next day being the 25th of July General Scott with the first brigade advencd for Quenston in the latter part of the afternon when he had advanced About two Mils he met ther enemy & dredfull Conflict commenced the Second Brigade ware out for evening rool call we Immidatly ran to his Support & battle became Generl the enemey retreated some Distance when the 21st Regiment Under General Miller charged their Park of Artilery & Carried the whole, theer Artily was Stationed on a rise of ground in which was a Church & burrying ground full of Graves, the enemy finding he had lost his Artilery made some Desperat Charges to retacke it & gain the rise of ground but all in Vain for our Min fought like bull dogs so close did they charge that the fire from their Discharges would seem to strike our faces, Generls Brown & Scott ware wounded & left the field Genl Miller lost his Horse, I belive Genl Riply was the Only Officer that remained Mounted I expected to see him fall as the enemy fired Over in their Discharges he had part of his hat case shot from his hat, our rear rank Kneled & fired betwen the fils, toward Midnight the Enemy seemed to have withdraw & thier was an Order from Camp for us to fall back, which we did after distroying their artillery & specking them with ramrods all except one brass 6 pounder which the Men of the 21st Regt Draged to Camp a Distance of upwards of two Mils. the Enemy having Kiled Nearly all our Horses This is called the battle of Bridgewater fought near the Niaguria Falls we lost out of 2300 Infantry Nine hundred

in Killed wounded & Presioners & Expt the Enemy lost by far the largest Number their forse being considerable the largest. in the Morning we advanced across the bridge towards the battle ground having tackin us the remaindr of the Night to reorganize the army the 9 Regt had but eighty Men for Duty & the Seinorer Officer left was Leut Child after we had crossed the Bridge Genl Ripley sent to Camp for Some refrshment for the Troopes. — we saw but few of ther enemy in the Scirts of the Woods they did not seem inclined to engage us About Ten Oclock in the forenoon we recived an Order to return to camp which we did we then Detailed 100 Men on the rearguard & 100 Men on fetigue in the reare loaded all our bagage Waggons, Set fire to all the Public Buldings burnt the bridge togather with the tents Musketts etc. & comencd our retreat for fort Eri when we had retreated about two Mils we came to our Provisions of which the Men had liberty to tacke what they pleased we threw the rist into the rivere thir are a Number of Small bridges which we crosed in pasing from Chippawa to fort Eri which our Men in the rear Destroyed we arrvrd within about two Mils of Fort Eri about Ten Oclock at Night & encumped being very Much Ftigued —

their is one thing I forgot to mention. the afternoon on which the Bridge water battle took place in the evening our forige Master Mr. Mackswell came in & reported that their was a large field of Peas a Short Distance from Camp Our Qurter Master Dispatched a Number of Waggons with himself for Some of the Peas they ware gone but a Short time before he returned laded the Men Off caps & commenced picking & Shelling the Peas being the first New Vegetable we had receiveid, but before they had got them Cooked they ware called to the Bridgewater Battle & but few if any of them Tasted the Peas. Poor Lt Biglow that went for them was a dead Man in a few Hours & Never had the pleasure of Tasting of them —

The Enemy burnt our Dead & Buried thier own The Next Morning we fell back to fort Eriee We imediatly Commenced Dicing intrenchnt building Bastions & heaving up works round the Camp we Continued this three Days & Nignts both Officers & Soilders very hard Digging being Princeply Clay. we then Detailed for this Duty by day &

night for more than thirty Days, the Enemy Avancing on us I think they arrived Near the Camp in about four Days they finding great Difuculty as we had thrown every Obsticale in their way in our power by the time they had arrived we had covered ourselfs Considerably well by our exertions, they Immediatly comenced bulding their Batterys in the woods we Still fortyfing ourselves as fast as Posable so soon as they had Compleated their first Battery they opened on our Camp they continued building untill they Numbered four which so fast as they built would open on us which they continud bombarding us for Over forty days & Nights thier battery No 1 was Abbout one thousand yeards from us No 4 about four hundred yeards they Killed & wounded a Number of our Men Daily they having compleatly the Advantage of us theer Main body lying in the rear of the woods having only a suffisent Number of men at their batterys to garrison them we however gave them Shot for Shot & endeavored to harrass them all in our power once in a while Salleying out to the Scirts of the Woods as Genl Gains Said to feel of them, one afternoon they hove a Hot shot into a Small Magezine and it exploded they gave a Great Shout which we answered & Oppened the whole of our Artillery that would bear on them thus we Continud fortyfing & bombarding untill the 15th of August 1814 About two Oclocke in the Morning I had that moment ben relived from Duty Genl Riply Caled at Marque & Ordered me to turn out my Company which consisted of only thirty two men I answerd that my men ware all awacke I expected he thought it was my turn for Duty I immediatly Ordered them to Parade while parading I heard a Dog bark in the Direction of Piquet No 4 which when I heard I Knew was an Enemies Dog & that they ware not far off I hastened to my alarm post Immediately the guard on piquet No 4 fired & the alarm was given the whole of our Men ware at their post which I expt did not exceed fifteen hundred & Enemy ware about five thousand Strong they attacked us in three Colmns Right left & Center theer first attack was on our right which gave a signal for thier Other Colmns to advance thier first Attack was on piquet No 4 with a Colmn of eighteen hundred or two thousand men who Volinterid the day before to Carrey our

right it being the weekest point we had in Camp, from Capt Towsons battery to the lake was a flat rock on which we had built an Abbetu as we could get no Dirt to build Brestwork the Piquet did not fire but once the enemey advanced so rapidly that they Overrun the guard at this time they came within hail who comes thier they answerd the piquet guard we oppened on them with About one hundred & fifty or Sixty Men togather with Capt Towsons Artilley from the battery they broke fell back to form which they did & made a second attack with Great furey comming so near that we bayoneted them in the Abbetu thus they Kept charging & falling bak forming & Charging till day light when they fled their wa a large body of them attemped to wade in the water round the lower point of the Abbetu my Company acting as a Company of reserve I was Orderd to attack them which did, was reinforced with Lut Larneds Company About thee Same Streng as my own thirty two & I do not belive aney of them went back to tell the news we took at this point about Six hundred in killed wounded & Prisoners, with Capt Towsons battery & One hundred & Sixty men of the 21st Regt —

During this blody conflict the left & Center ware as buseley engaged as our selves from their appeirance although I cannt be so particlar but say the least it must have ben very severe as the Enemy gaind the bastine by a Dredfull Stregale & Cried out no Qurters & I have no Doubt they would have masacred every Man had they succeeded in the Attack as they had thier flints Tacken from their Muskett by thier Officers while we ware endevoring to regain the bastion an Explosion took place which hove about two hundred of them into the Air when they retreated and fift us. thus ended this Tereible attackt, this was a proud Morning for us I was prsauved [persuaded?] the Enemy would never attempt our works again General Gains remarked to me that our Reginent was worth its wight in Gold it had saved the Camp this Night the Enemy sent in a flage wishing to Learn the fate of three Officers at the Same time we had over forty in Killed wounded & Prisoners Leut Kirby one of the Flag who met them told me that the Generl answer was you inform Genl Drumond that I

shall recive no Communocation from him unless it is an uncondinal Surrender of all his Majestys forces in Uper Canadia after collecting the dead we selected a Piece of ground between the batteries to burey & comeneced digging, the Enemy opined their batteries and drove the men from the ground. after this they Continued their bombardmnt Night and day untill the 17th September in which time we Suffered greatly in Killed & wounded we lost in their attact on the fifteenth about thirty Men the Enemies loss I cannot State but it was said we took up thirteen hundred Stands of arms About this time the Goveror of the State of New York Ordered three of the western Counties to report at Buffalo on the 3d of September which they did Genrly without Arms except the light Companys, it so happend that we had About three thousand Stands which we had taken from the Enemy with which we Supplid them, We then bet up for Volintiers to Cross to Fort Erie which about eighteen hundreded Volintired Genl Brown Informed the Officirs that would not cross that if they wished to return home he would send a guard With them that they might not be hurt, on the Night of the Sixteenth they embarked in boats & Crossed to Fort Erie on the 17 Sept it was Stormy & Rainy. Sailed out on the Enemies batteries Carried them & Eneny retreated towards Chippawa, the loss here I cannot State but should say the Enemy was by far the gratest I should say there whole loss near Fort Erie was two thousand Men, after this we Sailed out & burnt their Camp which was built of fencing Stuf & bushes, About the 10th or 12th October Genl Isard arrived with his Division but before he arrived the business was all Done, we however persued the Enemy to the Chippawa, Genl Isared Detac a party to procede through the woods abouve their works to Distrory Some Stores which they affected, lost about Seventy Men & returnd to camp Konl King Volinterd the 21st Regiment to thir Support I reccolect of Hearing Genl Miller Say to Coln King look out they will give you a Brevett, we Advanced in the morning through the worst road I ever traviled without anything to eat or Drink we encamped the first night near a farm Conl King bough a young creature of the Owner of thee Farm which was all he could Spare except 3 or four Sheep which escaped, the

Men bult fires and sat by them During the Night as our baggage waggons ware three Mile in the rear, & it rained hard we commnced our March in the Morning, about Ten Oclock we met the Troops returning, we then returned to Camp havong our Labour for our pains and very much Fatigued, we then fell back to Opposite black rock & crossed the revir to the Amircen Shore, we then on the 28th of October commenced our March for Sacketts Harbour a Distance of two hundred and Eighty Mils, when we Started my Men each ware furnished with a Spare pair of Shoes pr Man when marched about half the Distance I furnished them with another pair pr Man & when we arived at Sacketts Harbour the 13th Novr I had not a Man that had a pair of Shoes on his feet even Capt Bowman had nothing left but the uper part of his stockings I shoud Say it rained & snowed half of the time we ware on this March which made the roads intolerable bad & Mud very Deep, I have heard them say that the Soldiers marked the ground in the Reovtionaly war which was the case on this March, we being on a forsed march to relive the Millitea Stationed at Sacketts Harbour, & their was a prospect of an attact from the British, as we ware informed, I should say that one third part of the Brigade fill in the rear & ware a number of days comming in, the Orders that we Started under ware as follows the revelee beat at the first Streak of day in fifteen Minuts after the Genl beat Tents Strucke Waggons loaded Troops on the March, this was all the time the [that?] they had for Refrestat. March till Mid day or untill we came to warter halt for About half an hour if the Men had aney thing to eat will if not fast & commerce Marching till dark, then halt & to building fires & Cooking which took half of the Night, if we halted ware we could get Straw we did, if no Straw lie on the wet or frozen ground without it, in this way we Continud during our March without permision for either Officer or Soldier to enter aney Dwelling During the March unless permitted by the Commanding Officer, After lying about a month at Sacketts Harbour their Came out an Order Ordering About thirty Officers on the recruiting servce I was amongst the Number having ben as long on the Froniteers as any one present I went to head Qurters to get released the Answer to me was that I had ben as long

theer as any Officer & if they realese me they Must Others & I must go I then had to procede Over four hundred Mils, in the winter time to report myself to the Officer Commanding this recruiting Distrect, who was then at Portsmouth without any means of conveyence for my bagage, this was hard lins However I got through & arived at Salem the last of Decr. 1814 went to portsmouth & reported myself to the Officer who Orderd me to return to Salem & wait his Orders but before I went on Duty the NEWS of PEACE came, the Officers here ware then Ordered to springfield to wait the arangenmnt of Goverment, after being their a Short time we had Liberty to return home, which I never should have done had I not a family whom was Dear to me, as I conjectured I had no friends in Salem, when I returned I riceved a polite Invetation from a Number of Gentlemn to Sup with them at the Sun Tavern which I accepted Considering it as a marke of more respect than I Deseved,

after I was Discharged I sought for imploymnt to Support my Famly but almost in Vain, I called on a Number of Gentlemen but with out Success I tried to get imploymnt at my Trade & called on one or two Merchants but did not succeede, I also Endvored to get some one to furnish me with a small stock for a wood wharf, offering half of the Profitts, & their keeping the Stock in their own hands thirby runing no riske, but in Vain I then went to work at Days works with Mr. Cherinat the fish fince at South Salem, when ever he wanted me, he was Kind to me & gave me imploymnt whenver he could. I also laboured Considerale in North Salem in the fields, one fall of the year I Obtained my winters fuill Diding Stumps & pecking brush in the woods, the Selectmen also gave some imploymnt one Sumer on the Highway, for which they have my thanks, but I found it hard work to find bread for my Famly, Finly Doctor Wm Sterns called on me & offired me his Cellar, I did not like the business nethir do I now like it, I am Obliged to do it. I told the Doctor I had not a Dollar to Stock it, he said he would Stock it I should have half the Profits, whch I accepted & here I have to remain barley supporting my famly, I wish some one would give me better imployment, but I must Submit to my fate & be as

contented as I can, although I Know it is considered rather low business to krp a Cellar, Soon after I was Discharged Genl. Riply was stationed at fort Independance he sent for me, I went up to See him, he asked me if I had any imployment, I answered him in the Negavetive, he than gave me a very hansem letter to Coln Lee, the than Collector of this port, which I handed him, he promising me I should have a birth in the Custom house the first Vacensey, but he never gave it me, I asked him a number of times to return me the letter but he never did —

Their are Some cerumstances I forgot as I have wrritten in haste, the Order under which we crossed into Canada punished with Death either Officer or Soldier that Should Commit any Drepredations on Private Property, General Rial was made a Prisoner at the Battle of Bridgewater by a flanking party At the time my Father Died my Mother lost Father Mother & two Brothers, I think of the same fever,

Here the faded ink on the brown pages ends abruptly. However, in the Salem Directory for 1837 (the oldest in the possession of the Essex Institute) Benjamin Ropes is listed as a "Victualler" on Court Street, which was the name then given to the section of Washington Street between Bridge Street and Town House Square. Family tradition says he ran an "eating house" at the northeast corner of Town House Square, and that the turkeys served in his "eating house" were cooked by his long-suffering wife on the spit in the fireplace of the kitchen at 18 Williams Street. However, Benjamin must have had a continual struggle to support his family, for the records in the Court House show that at the time of his death his estate amounted to less than \$300.00. His obituary notices tell of his splendid war record only. He lies in the center of the Ropes lot in Harmony Grove; on his gravestone is a quotation, obviously from his own lips, "My children shall have an education and employment."

UNCOLLECTED EARLY POEMS
BY JOHN GREENLEAF WHITTIER

BY WALTER MCINTOSH MERRILL

Although it is well known that Garrison discovered the poetry of Whittier and first published it in his early newspapers, the following eleven poems (ten from *The Free Press*¹ and one from the *National Philanthropist*) have not previously been reprinted.

FOR THE FREE PRESS.²

THE VOICE OF TIME

I.

Mortals! ye that toil for glory,
 Worldly wealth, and fickle fame,
Listen to my warning story,
 Let my tale attention claim:—
I have seen the proudest humbled,
 And their works of wealth and pride
To the dust in ruins crumbled,
 Covered by Oblivion's tide.

II.

Driven from his princely station,
 I have seen the monarch fly,
And the glory of his nation
 Prostrate and dishonored lie:
I have seen Oblivion hiding
 Many a high and mighty name,
And his hand of darkness gliding
 O'er the rolls of ancient fame.

III.

Yes! that power has darkly shaded
 Many a son of honor high;
Name and fame alike have faded
 From the tale of years gone by.
Cease, then, mortals! cease your toiling
 For a vain distinction here—
I with reckless hand am spoiling
 All the trophies which you rear.

IV.

Look beyond this narrow mansion,
Bounded by the silent tomb,
To the bright and fair expansion
Of a world of endless bloom!
See immortal beauties glowing
Far beyond the reach of time,
And eternity bestowing
Endless joys,—immortal prime!
Haverhill, 6th of 7 mo. 1826. W.

FOR THE FREE PRESS.³

THE BURIAL

Of the Princess CHARLOTTE, of Wales.⁴

There was grief in each heart, as solemn and slow
The procession of death was advancing;
And on many an aspect, o'ershadowed by woe,
The funeral torch was glancing:—
The deep-toned bell of the Abbey rung
And shook'd the pillared pile,
The requiem of death was mournfully sung
Within the crowded aisle.

Prince Leopold stood by the gloomy pall,
And the tear in his dark eye trembled;
He wept, he mourn'd, for his Charlotte's fall,
And his grief was undissembled:
The manly tears of the veteran fell
With those from beauty's eye—
The bosom of youth was seen to swell
With the inly-struggling sigh.

For, oh! 'twas a spectacle sad to view
 When her cold, cold corse was numbered
 With those of the proudest which England knew,
 Who long in that tomb had slumbered.
 O! calm be her slumbers, and bright the dawn
 Of her soul, when dissolving time
 The trumpet shall wake eternity's morn,
 And call to a happier clime.

Haverhill, 7th mo. 1826.

W.



FOR THE FREE PRESS.⁵

STANZAS.

Say, what can life be likened to?
 'Tis like a gentle current stealing
 Along the vale, and to the view
 Nought but its peaceful wave revealing.

'Tis like the ocean, when fierce storms
 Upon its wrathful breast are dashing;
 When waves, swelled into mountain-forms,
 Along its trembling shores are flashing.

'Tis like the dark and stagnant lake,
 No wave its sluggish bosom sweeping,
 No breeze its sullen depths to shake,
 In deep and gloomy silence sleeping.

Now calm, serene, unvex'd with strife,
 Now troubled as the storm-toss'd ocean;
 Thus passes man's eventful life,
 In joy, in sorrow, and commotion.

Haverhill, 8th mo. 1826.

W.



FOR THE FREE PRESS.⁶

THE SHIPWRECK.

[T]was the hour of midnight! and thick clouds,
[B]lackened with thunder, hung in darkness o'er
[T]he stormy sea: tremendous horror threw
[I]ts c[hil]ling influence round—and ruin yawn'd,
Grimly and fearful, 'twixt the storm-toss'd waves.

* * * * *

Long time the bark had striven amid the rage
Of elements contending,—striven in vain:
Peril sat on her helm, and Fear had blanched
The rough, bold features of her toil-spent crew:
Torn was her rigging, and her lofty mast
The thunderbolt had splintered;—fierce and wild
Red lightnings glimmer'd o'er her wave-wash'd deck;
And, strongly pictured in its baleful glare,
The hardy seamen stood, irresolute;
Yet in their visages, sun-brown'd and worn
By time and toil, despair's composure sat.

Near by them stood a melancholy pair—
Husband and wife—their helpless infant press'd
To its fond mother's bosom—He with thoughts
Fixed on eternity, gaz'd with a look
Almost serene upon th' appalling sight
Of ocean's wrath;—but transient was that calm!
His proud form shook, and down his manly cheek
The tear of anguish roll'd, the whilst he gazed
Upon his lovely infant and on her
Whose faithful heart, through all the varied scenes
Which mark'd the progress of his chequered life,
Had still adhered to her first love, the same
Mild being, sharer of his hours of joy
And soother of his woes. She closely clung
To his supporting arm, as if assured
It could protect her and th' unconscious child,
In that dread hour when Heaven alone could save!

. The grey-haired chaplain came,
 Bowed down with age, and mixed his solemn prayer
 With the wild uproar of the winds and waves:
 Hushed was each murmur then—all, all resigned
 To Heaven's high will—each earthly tho't was lost,
 And as, with hideous crash and rending groan,
 The vessel yielded to the tempest's wrath,
 And strew'd the ravenous deep, its hapless crew,
 Upborne a passing moment on the waves,
 Poured forth their short, their mingled prayers, and
 sunk

Below the region of the storm to graves
 Peaceful and undisturbed

Haverhill, 8th mo. 1826.

W.

FOR THE FREE PRESS.⁷

PAULOWNA.

[Eugene Labaume, in his interesting memoirs, describes in pathetic language the fate of the unfortunate Paulowna, who, during the disastrous retreat of the French from Moscow, was cruelly abandoned by her husband, a general officer in the army of Napoleon.]⁸

Wilt thou leave me prey to anguish,
 Chill misfortune's hapless child?
 Wilt thou leave me here to languish,
 On this dreary, wasted wild?
 Canst thou leave me here with strangers,
 Worn by want and hemm'd with dangers?
 From these wild and savage regions,
 Canst thou hasten with thy legions,
 Nor a passing thought bestow
 On thy wretched partner's woe?

When the fires of death were flashing,
 When the Cossack's fierce "Hourra"**
 Rung aloud, as, onward dashing,
 Roll'd the broken waves of war—

When the bayonet-fronted columns,
 Bursting through the smoky volumes,
 Came, destruction onward bearing—
 By thy side, the danger sharing,
 I have stood and joy'd to see
 Thy banner float in victory!

For thee, I have left behind me
 Objects dearest to my heart:
 Sacred are the ties which bind me
 To thee, faithless as thou art!
 Far from friends who once were near me,
 None to pity, none to hear me,
 Wilt thou thus of hope bereave me?
 Yes, thou frownest! I must leave thee—
 'Tis the tale thy features tell—
 Faithless husband! fare thee well!

Fare thee well—and, ere to-morrow,
 This frail form will slumber low,
 Free from care and free from sorrow,
 Buried deep in drifting snow:—
 Frozen sleet shall be my barrier
 'Gainst the footsteps of the warrior:
 Welcome, then, thou mansion dreary,
 To the heart that's worn and weary!
 Welcome, resting place of care!
 Welcome, for repose is there!

Haverhill, 8th mo. 1826.

W.

* The cry of the Cossacks when advancing to combat.



FOR THE FREE PRESS.⁹

Memory can lead
 The harrass'd mind back to the scenes it lov'd
 In years departed; but we need the power
 Of fancy to live o'er the long past hours—
 To view, in their original brightness, all

The features of some spot long sacred to
 Friendship or love, or to th' undying charm
 Which virtue sheds around, and makes each wild
 And gloomy scene in nature seem more fair,
 To reason's eye, than palaces where vice
 Reigns uncontroll'd; or groves luxuriant where
 The footsteps of pollution can be traced,
 Marring the beauties which had else been seen
 With admiration - - - - -

Aided by fancy's power, we view again
 Those long lost joys which hope was wont to bring
 Around us in past days; though distant far
 That home may be, and scarce a trace remain
 Of what it was; though many a year has fled
 Since last we gaz'd upon that much lov'd spot;
 Yet when fond memory lingering looks beyond
 The wrecks of years sunk in the wave time,
 Fancy can bring th' enchanting vision near,
 The sister's playful smile, the brother's laugh,
 The mother's anxious look, the father's tale
 Of other days, and all the dear delights
 Felt by youth's hopeful bosom, when the tho't
 Of evil hours, and manhood's wasting cares,
 No blight has flung upon the spring of Hope.

Haverhill, 8th mo. 1826.

W.

—♦—
For the Free Press.¹⁰

STANZAS.

“On eagles wings immortal scandals fly,
 And virtuous actions are but born to die.”

Sat. of Juvenal.¹¹

I envy not the station gain'd
 By darkly dealing villainy,
 By falsehood, fraud, and treachery stain'd,
 How high so'ee'r [*sic*] that station be.

For I would rather live unknown
By cold neglect und [sic] misery chill'd,
Than on another's wreck alone
My hopes of better fortune build.

Mean and ungenerous is the breast
Which calls detraction to its aid;
The meed of fame from him to wrest
Whose worth a powerful rival made.

But let that proud unfeeling breast
Its ill-gain'd power enjoy a while,
It ne'er shall know the hallowed rest
That soothes the heart devoid of guile.

Haverhill,

W.

For the Free Press.¹²

THE CRUSADERS.

In many a deep unbroken rank,
Along the battle-field,
On strode the iron guarded Frank,
With helm and spear and shield;
And charger's tread and armour's clank
Their threat'ning march revealed.

Thronging Esdralon's verdant vale,
The Moslem bands were nigh—
Flung out upon the sultry gale,
Their banners floated high—
And brazen helm and crescent pale
Rise up against the sky.

And Frank and Paynian fiercely met,
With sword and sabre sway,
With haughty word, and blow and threat,
And deafning trumpet-bray—
And spears, on shield and corslet set,
Fell shivering midst the fray.

Long raged the fight—Esdralon's plain
Drank deep of noble blood;
It pour'd around the trampled slain,
A darkly rolling flood—
With falling corse and arrow-rain,
And shivering armour strew'd.

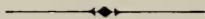
And loudly rung the conflict cry,
In blood-chok'd echoes given,
"On, Christians, on, for Christ ye die!
Ye fight the fight of Heaven!"
Then furier flam'd the warrior's eye,
And heavier shields were riven.

The symbol of the cross was borne
With banner-spear and crest;
By every Frank the cross was worn
On helm and mailed breast;
Midst splinter'd spears, and pennons torn,
That battle signal prest.

Why fought they thus? what spirit led
Those warrior's from afar,
Abroad on Syria's plain to shed
The baleful fruits of war;
And sternly o'er the Moslem dead
Urge slaughter's iron car.

Say, serv'd they Him who meekly died
On Calvary's awful brow?
Urged they for him the stormy tide
Of battle?—surely no!
'Twas mad'ning zeal, 'twas earthly pride,
That bade the torrents flow! W.

Haverhill, 11th mo. 1826.



*For the Free Press.*¹³

BYRON.

Written after a perusal of his works.

Mourn for departed genius,
For haughty Byron mourn—
Mourn for the spirit that is gone,
And never to return.
He sleeps where heroes slumber,
Where laurel'd bards repose,—
But not a nobler heart than his
Is numbered with those.

Parnassus' misty summit
O'erlooks the poet's grave,
The waters from Castilia's fount,
His place of slumber lave.
O! never shall Britannia
Boast of a loftier lyre
Than his, whose never-dying strain,
Seem'd touch'd with living fire.

O ne'er shall lovely woman,
A fonder tribute find
Than Byron's soul-enchanting lays
To beauty's power resign'd.
The fond, the proud, the mighty,
Are mingled in his rhyme;
From strains that tenderest feelings wake,
To fearful and sublime.

Through wild and fearful regions
His daring journey lay,
Like the bold eagle that pursues
Thro' thunder clouds, her way.
But ah, his way was dang'rous—
Beneath the dazzling screen,
His tuneful numbers cast around,
Detested vice is seen.

But peace to thee, oh Byron,
 Not mine thy faults to tell,
 Or trace tho [thy] darker wanderings,
 Unequall'd bard farewell.
 Farewell departed minstrel,
 Where'er is freedom's clime,
 There shall thy laurels be preserv'd,
 And greener grow with time.

The noblest hearts shall mourn thee:
 The brightest eyes shall shed
 A tear of generous sympathy,
 For the illustrious dead.
 Mourn for departed genius,
 For haughty Byron mourn—
 Mourn for the spirit that is gone,
 And never can return.

W.

Haverhill, 11th mo. 1826.

For the Free Press.¹⁴

THE GRAVE OF THE MARINER.

He sleeps where noble hearts have slept,
 In oceans lowly gloom,
 The shroud-like sea weed, round him wrapt,
 The coral rock his tomb.

Beyond the fury of the wave,
 Where pearls of ocean shine,
 A silent, and a peaceful grave
 Kind-hearted youth is thine.

Above, the tempest-wind may sweep
 The surface of the sea,
 Yet undisturb'd, shall be thy sleep,
 In oceans cemetery.

All waveless shall the water's be
Upon thy youthful breast;
Above, thy storm may hurtle by,
But not disturb thy rest.

Kind-hearted sailor; generous tears
Shall to thy memory fall—
When thoughts of thee in future years
Thy memory shall recall.

Yes, they shall wet the manly cheek
Of many a shipmate dear,
And who a nobler boon can seek
Than friendship's sacred tear. W.¹⁵

Haverhill, 12th mo. 1826.



We trust this is only the commencement of a series of favors from our esteemed friend W——. Our Poetical department has been lamentably deficient in original pieces, and needs to be replenished. This invitation, however, is made to *poets*, and to such only as deserve that name.¹⁶

FOR THE PHILANTHROPIST.¹⁷

TO THE MERRIMACK.

I have been gazing on thee, noble stream!
Till a late hour. The golden light that play'd
Along thy gentle waters, is withdrawn,
And thou art mirroring the pale stars now
In all their tranquil beauty; and the breeze
That sigheth on thy flowery bank, and bears
The evening perfume round me, summons not
Thy mimic billows from their peaceful mood.

I have been rash to day—and stormy thoughts
Have hurried past my brain, and bitterness
Hath mingled in my intercourse with men.

"Tis very strange—at least, it seems so here—
That he whose eye hath seen, whose ear hath heard,
The beauties and the harmonies of earth;
Whose very spirit hath resign'd itself
To the mild teachings of those outward forms
Whose loveliness and purity are felt
As evidences of an holier power,—
Should yield himself to passion, and pass on
Amid the earth's calm beauty, with a heart
Impervious to its melting tenderness.
Yet so it is—and I have bent my brow,
And shut my eyes upon the peaceful scene,
To hold communion with unquiet thoughts,
And brood upon imaginary wrong,
Till life seem'd sad, and nature's beauty dim,
To the dark vision of misanthropy.

Yet now it hath been otherwise. I feel
As if my heart were purified from all
Its mean, discordant passions. I have felt
The calm serenity of earth and sky
Shedding its influence on my troubled breast,
And I am tranquil now. I cannot look
On the rich visions round me, and breathe in
The Eden-sweetness of a thousand flowers,
In bitterness of spirit. - - - - -

Pride of my native valleys! noble stream!
My happiest moments have been pass'd with thee.—
Whether the sunshine glimmer'd on thy wave,
Or the clear moonlight cross'd thee with its track
Of silvery brightness; or the silent stars
Look'd even as now upon thy quiet flow,—
Still were thy beauties felt; for all around
Is hallowed by those fond remembrances
Which tell of boyhood's pleasure, and steal in
Upon the ruined years of after life
Like home born music on the wand'rer's ear.

Haverhill, 5th mo. 1828.

W.

There is one more of Whittier's early poems, from Garrison's *Journal of the Times* (21 November 1828), which should perhaps be included here, even though it was reprinted in *The Philadelphia Album* (23 December 1828 and 10 November 1832).¹⁸ Note its Miltonic ring.

[For the *Journal of the Times*.]

A DREAM.

It was a beautiful evening—night came down
Softly upon the day. The delicate light
Left by the glorious sunset, gradual passed
From cloud and sky; and the clear moon-light fell
Like a broad veil of silver; and the stars,
In all their visible purity, looked forth,
Like eyes of mercy, glancing from the throne
Of uncreated glory. By their light,
Two beings had gone forth. The one stood up
In the proud sense of manhood, and the might
Of an unshackled spirit, even as one
Fitted to wrestle with the stormy things
Of perilous existence, and to bear
The image of the high and living God,
Amid the changing circumstances of earth,
Unbending—undebased. The other—young
And beautiful—was standing at his side,
With her mild features, and her broad, white brow
Unveiled to the soft moon-light. She had met
The being, whom she loved, in the strong faith
Of his fidelity. Oh! how the heart—
The young and innocent heart—will yield itself
To an undoubting confidence; and dream,
Till dreaming seems reality, that all,
It looks upon in fondness, hath its own
Enduring principle of sacred truth
And meek devotedness!

—The scene—the hour,
Were full of inspiration; and she raised
Her beautiful eyes to heaven—and spoke of bowers
Holy and blissful, in the far, bright worlds

That glittered on her view. Her lover drank
The music of her voice, until he caught
A portion of her loftiness of soul,
And eloquence of feeling; and his vow
Of everlasting confidence and love,
In all the seeming energy of truth
Was given—and believed.

—Again I saw
The beings of my dream. That proud one stood
Amid a powerful and determined throng
Of stern and war-tried veterans. He had gone
Out o'er the earth a chainless conqueror;—
Ambition was his idol—to nought else
Had his high spirit bowed; and he had given
The quiet of his bosom for the breath
Of adulation; and the hue of love,
Which his young spirit took, had faded in
The sunshine of applause. The delicate ties
Which bound him to the sacred things of home,
And truth, and friendship, in the storm of war
Had one by one been broken—and he came
Forth with his legions to his childish haunts
A changed and fearful being. As his plume
Bowed to the breeze, and crest and mail gave back
Their double flood of sunlight, aged men
Shook their grey heads, and check'd their children's
voice
Of thoughtless admiration. For the young
Undisciplined spirit boundeth at the call
Of war's shrill music, and rejoiceth in
The splendor of its pageantry. The bright
And beautiful unveiled their brows, to grace
The coming of the conqueror, with the smile
Of welcome and of joy.—'Tis ever thus
With woman—lovely woman! Oh! that ere
She gave her admiration to the man
Of victory and power, she might but read
The desolate sternness of his altered heart,
Seared by its long companionship with guilt,
And made familiar with th' unholy things

Of war and conquest, where no gentle ties—
No lingering sympathy—no early love—
No trace of those emotions, which are dear
To the fond heart of woman—have survived
Ambition's maddening impulse.

—There was one,
Who smiled not with the joyous. As the form,
On which all eyes were resting, passed—she threw
The dark locks from her brow, and timidly
Upraised her eye to his. He turned—one pang
Of memory seemed to shoot across his brain.—
His proud lip quivered, and his haughty eye
Quailed from the glance of her's.—A moment more,
And he was passing proudly on again,
As if no vision of his early love
Had met his careless gaze.

—Yet once again,
I gazed upon that being. The bland tone
Of flattery and the music of applause
Were heard no more; but the shrill trumpet's call—
The tramp of charging multitudes—the groan
Of the down-trodden, and the clash of steel
Rang upward from around him. He had plunged
In the red rift of battle, where the foe
Grown desperate, rallied for the last array
Of hopeless valor. Oh! 'twas sad to see
That sacrifice of life—that yielding up
Of the green earth, and all its clinging ties,
To the mad dream of fame. The thin, grey hairs
Of warlike age—youth's free and golden locks
Stiffened in blood. Yet on, in tireless power,
That warrior passed; and valor's living tide
Rolled from before him, as the ocean heaves
Back from the earthquake's coming. On—right on,
He held his course, 'till all were left behind,
Save one, whose slender form could scarce uphold
Its weight of armor, and whose small, white hand
Seemed all unfit to curb the untamed steed,
Or lay the lance in rest. Yet that young page

Clung to his master, with a zeal that mocked
The peril of his way.

—Exult thee, now—

Dark conqueror, thou hast reached the utmost goal
Of thy mad pilgrimage!—Like lightning close
The foe around thee, and their spears flash up
Between thee and thy banners.

—Fierce he threw

One glance behind, and cursed the craven bands
That lingered from the fray, and left him there
To wrestle with a host. Then stern resolve,
The offspring of a spirit unsubdued,
Flashed in his passionate eye—“We are betrayed!”—
He spoke no more—crest after crest went down,
Beneath the flashing of his vengeful steel.

* * * * * Stoops the high plume
That waved but now so haughtily—the hand,
So terrible in fight, hath lost its hold
On the stained sabre, and the gallant steed
Acknowledges no rein. Unhappy man!
Command thy soul to God—thy foeman’s spear
Is levelled for thy breast.

—Whose form is flung
Before him, as a shield? Whose bosom streams
With the warm current of departing life?
Devoted page! what mighty love was thine
To prompt this sacrifice!

—The tardy trains

Poured round the scene of combat, and the foe
Scattered before them, like the autumn leaves
Swept by unfettered winds. They raised the chief—
His hold on life was feeble, and he gazed
Wildly around him. “Waste no time on me,”
He murmured faintly, “but unclasp the helm
Of yon devoted youth, for he hath been
Faithful unto the last, and yet may live
To mourn my fall.” In eager haste the helm
Was lifted, but the mild, pale features wore

The visible calm of death. A few soft curls,
Pressed by the helmet, round the quiet brow
Lay as in mockery. The dying chief
Bent on the form his dim and failing glance,
And started with wild horror. Life's last tide
Gushed from his heart, as fearfully he strove
To speak a name, which died upon the lips
That fixed forever.

—He had gazed upon
The object of his early love—the shrine
At which his young idolatry was given—
—And she had died for him.

J. G. WHITTIER.

Haverhill, 8th of 11th mo. 1828.

1 Thomas F. Currier (*A Bibliography of John Greenleaf Whittier* [Cambridge, Mass., 1937]) gives *The Free Press* as the only place of publication for thirteen poems, but three of them, "To the Memory of William Penn," "The War Song," and "To the Memory of David Sands," were reprinted by Henry Joel Cadbury in "Whittier's Early Quaker Poems," *N. E. Q.*, XVIII (1945), 251-256.

2 13 July 1826.

3 20 July 1826.

4 Princess Charlotte Augusta (1796-1817) was the only daughter of George, Prince of Wales (later George IV), and Caroline of Brunswick. Since her parents were separated when she was only a few months old, she was put chiefly under the care of Lady Elgin, and she endured what must have been a frustrating and unhappy childhood. After an abortive engagement to William of Orange she married, 2 May 1816, Prince Leopold of Saxe-Coburg, who was not only handsome and charming, but devoted to Charlotte. The marriage seemed to promise the security and happiness she longed for. But she died in childbirth on the fifth of November, 1817. The nation's shock and grief was reflected in the jingle, "Never was sorrow more sincere/ Than that which flowed round Charlotte's bier."

5 10 August 1826.

6 17 August 1826.

7 24 August 1826.

8 Whittier probably refers to one of the several translations of Labaume's memoirs to be published in America early in the nineteenth century. The following is doubtless the passage which inspired the poem: "The unfortunate Paulowna, whom the reader

will recollect, when he calls to mind the pillage of Moscow [Paulowna was about to be married when the French broke into the city. Her father and her husband-to-be went off to join the army, and she was found by soldiers and carried before a general who promised to help her find her family but made her his mistress instead.], had hitherto accompanied us, and shared in all our misfortunes and privations. She endured them with the courage which her virtue inspired. Believing that she carried in her bosom a pledge of love, which she imagined to be legitimate, she was eager to become a mother, and proud to follow her husband. But he, who had pledged himself to her by the most solemn promises, having been informed in the morning, that we were not to take up our winter-quarters at Smolensko, determined to break a connexion, which he had regarded as merely temporary. Inaccessible to pity, he approached this innocent creature, and under some specious pretext, announced to her that they must part. At this intelligence she uttered a cry of surprise and horror, and frantically declared, that having sacrificed her family, and even her reputation for him, whom she regarded as her husband, it was her duty to follow him; and that neither fatigues nor dangers should turn her from a resolution, in which her love and her honour were equally interested. The general, little sensible of the value of an attachment so rare, coldly repeated, that they must part, since circumstances would no longer permit the women to remain with the troops; that he was already married, and that by returning speedily to Moscow, she might find the husband for whom her parents had destined her. At these cruel words, his interesting victim felt almost annihilated. Paler than when she rushed from the tombs of the Kremlin, she uttered not a word. She sighed, she wept, and suffocated her grief, fell into a state of insensibility. Her perfidious seducer took advantage of this to withdraw from her presence, not because he was overpowered by his sensibility; he, alas! was a stranger to every tender and generous feeling; but to fly from the Russians, whose cries of vengeance he already fancied that he heard." (Eugene Labaume, *A Circumstantial Narrative of the Campaign in Russia*. . . . [Hartford, 1817], p. 252.)

9 7 September 1826.

10 18 November 1826.

11 Whittier quotes from Stephen Harvey's translation of Juvenal's Ninth Satire, modernizing the spelling and capitalization and changing the phrase *Born, and Dye to born to die*. See *The Satyrs of Decimus Junius Juvenalis . . . Translated into English Verse by Mr. Dryden and Several Other Hands* (London, 1754), p. 138.

12 2 December 1826.

13 2 December 1826.

14 9 December 1826.

15 Currier (*op. cit.*) describes this poem as unsigned, but actually it is signed with the usual *W*.

16 The editorial comment is by Garrison.

17 *National Philanthropist*, 6 June 1828.

18 The publication in the *Journal of the Times* is the only one listed in Currier (*op. cit.*).

REMINISCENCES OF SALEM SIXTY OR SEVENTY YEARS AGO

By ROGER A. POOR

From a talk before the Salem Rotary Club,
April 29, 1952

For a half hour I'm going to take a trip back to my boyhood to tell some of you young folk how common people lived some 60 to 70 years ago — long before you came into this world to pep it up — the houses we lived in, the clothes we wore, our amusements; and in addition some miscellaneous recollections.

To begin, what kind of houses did we live in some 70 years ago? They were just like most of the older houses of today, except that they lacked the conveniences we possess. There were, of course, no telephones, no electric lights, no radio, few bathrooms, surprisingly few furnaces and certainly no oil heat. Most houses were heated with coal stoves. In the parlor the stove was put up in the early Fall and taken down again in the Spring. Sometimes it was lighted only on Sundays or when there was company. Most of the heat was supplied by the kitchen range. Some fastidious folks let the fire out every night and lighted it fresh in the morning, because they thought that a fire that burned all night did not give out as much heat as a new one. You can imagine the pleasure of getting up in a cold house on a zero morning to lay and light the fire, even if you did wear a woolen nightshirt.

Some folks hung mosquito netting around their beds. It made climbing in quite a job and, of course, the netting cut out part of the air. Then, when a mosquito did manage to work past the barrier, he couldn't find his way out and took his revenge on the sufferers who were trying to sleep. I suppose there were some feather beds. I never saw one in Salem but did nearly smother in one on a farm in western Massachusetts. It was wonderfully soft and you sank way down in, — fine on a winter night, especially if another was over you, but quite the reverse in summer.

The lack or inadequacy of screens exposed food to all sorts of insects, of which there were hordes, so some people used behived shaped covers of wire screen to put over the butter dish.

Most lighting was by kerosene lamps, which were hot in summer and didn't give too much light. Then, too, they had to be cleaned and filled every day and the wicks trimmed. Sometimes, if the kerosene wasn't wiped off carefully, it smelled. You didn't press a button to get light. You carried your lamp with you from room to room. A friend of mine tells an amusing story about the night her sister's beau was planning to propose. It was a large family, so, as the young couple sat nervously in the parlor, they had to watch pa and ma and the several brothers and sisters come one at a time, take a lamp from the shelf in the hall, light it, and go upstairs to bed. It was evidently late at night when that proposal was finally made. Some of the better houses had gas — open gas flame. One woman I knew was economical with matches — the old smelly sulphur kind — so she made "tapers" by tightly rolling up newspapers, lighting one end and carrying the lighted taper from burner to burner. Later, when electricity first came in, the electric fixtures were attached to the gas fixtures, so we had a combination. If the electricity failed, there was always the gas.

A few people had wall telephones. You had to turn the crank to get central and stand on tiptoe when you spoke. I can remember very clearly my first telephone conversation. We were visiting my uncle George in Peabody and he invited me to talk with my cousin Ben in the same town. So I stood on tiptoe and called very gingerly through the mouth-piece: "Hello, Ben" and heard with wonder his squeaky voice answering me.

Many houses had no plumbing. There was, instead, an outhouse, often in the shed and sometimes quite a distance away, which served fairly well. Then, when the ukase went out that every house should have an inside toilet, there was scurrying to find the appropriate space. Some cellars were concreted, but many others had just dirt floors. In time this dirt, denied access to the air, combined with the coal dust to form a fine, talcum-like powder, very soft

on the bare feet, but not particularly favorable to cleanliness. Real screens were on some windows, but others got by with mosquito netting tacked to the frames. This netting, if you didn't put your finger through it, or the boys going along the street didn't rip it, made a fairly effective, but not very beautiful protection. On the contrary, some old screens were very beautiful. In one ancient mansion on Essex street in which I lived, the screens were painted with Chinese scenes. We were directly on the street, yet no passer-by could look through the paintings, while we on the inside had a clear view. There were bathtubs, but a lot of us never used one until we were quite grown up. There was little running hot water. In most houses water was heated in a copper tank set on the back of the kitchen range. This, unfortunately, had to be filled regularly and by hand. Baths were in a tub or pail placed near this tank. The lack of bathrooms required every proper bedroom to have a commode. This was a sort of chest, in the bottom of which was a compartment. On top rested the washbowl with a pitcher full of cold water, and by its side, the soap dish. Generally there was a towel rack at the back, and behind it, on the wall, a linen splash sheet, which was often embroidered with intriguing pictures. Most of our parlor and dining room furniture was of black walnut, a beautiful but dismal wood, solid and heavy and turned into meaningless and ugly shapes. The tops of tables, sideboards and similar pieces were often cold marble. And the upholstery was black, cold and slippery horsehair. With such construction, is it any wonder that the chairs were generally uncomfortable? It is interesting that if black walnut is rubbed down to remove the stain, a lighter color, sometimes prettily grained and often quite beautiful, is exposed.

There were, of course, no electric refrigerators. Well-to-do people had an ice refrigerator, in which ice was kept in a compartment at the top: but ordinary folk got along with ice boxes, in which food and ice mingled in one large compartment. Filling these contraptions every day or two kept the ice man busy and left a trail of water on the stairs and sometimes muddy footprints on the kitchen floor. Naturally, too, the cold was not uniform, for when the ice supply ran low, the temperature crept up. The famous ice

box of those days was the Eddy, which had slate shelves that were supposed to hold the cold. Anybody who had any pretense to being somebody owned an Eddy. Unfortunately, when electricity came in to do our freezing, the Eddy folks clung to their slate and gradually vanished from the scene.

Almost all cooking was done on the kitchen range, mostly by coal, but sometimes by wood. There were no convenient gas ranges, although we did have kerosene stoves for hot weather, most of them two-burners. On these, after a long wait, water could be boiled and some foods cooked, if the meal wasn't large and the cooking could be done in relays. These stoves were really portable and so were popular with folks in summer camps. They didn't produce much heat, but I remember hearing of one man who summered on Bakers Island, where it sometimes gets cold at night, who depended entirely for heat on one of these minature stoves.

Much more food was cooked at home than now. Many housewives baked their own bread, some kneading the dough by hand, and others doing the chore in one of the newly-invented bread mixers. In spite of the excellent bread the bakers turn out today, I can declare that properly made home-baked bread is vastly superior. We still have the bread mixer we bought when we were married, so when a special treat is indicated, my wife mixes dough for the real article. And of course I turn the crank that does the kneading.

Our beans didn't come in cans. In fact, there was quite a prejudice against canned goods. Home-baked beans were generally parboiled on top of the kitchen range the night before, then baked all day in the oven, with a little molasses, pork and perhaps an onion. If we bought our beans at the bakery, they were dished out of the huge tub on the counter. The clerk scooped up what you wanted and dumped them in whatever container you brought with you. Some folks used to prepare their own beans in their own bean pots and then take them to the bakery to be baked.

Our streets were paved with dirt, from which, in summer, dust rose in clouds. So watering carts went up and down the streets spraying water to lay the dust. However, it refused to lay too long. The youngsters had a great time

running under the stream, while the puddles made tempting little ponds. Folks on some streets, who wouldn't pay the watering tax, lived with the dust all through the hot weather. In winter the snow was left on the streets to accommodate the horse-drawn pungs. Wheeled vehicles were of little use then. I can remember seeing snow dumped on Front street to keep traffic moving; and once I saw the horse-drawn fire engines almost stuck in the snow at the corner of Washington and Church streets.

Transportation in the early days was chiefly by train, although street cars were beginning to come in. I can't remember whether the seats were any less comfortable than those on the Boston line today, because I seldom rode in one. We went to Peabody and other nearby places on the street cars. In my early days these were drawn by horses. The seats ran along the sides and in winter the cars were heated by a little stove in one corner, which had to be tended by the conductor. And the ashes spread! Two men were in charge of these miniature cars then, the driver and the conductor. At some hills an extra horse and driver were stationed, to help haul the car up the steep grade. The real glory of the street cars came after trolley cars were introduced. There were two varieties — the closed type in winter and the open car in summer. In the open cars the seats ran crosswise and you got in from the running board which ran the entire length of the car on either side. The conductor moved up and down this running board to take the fares. When travel was heavy, many of the passengers rode on the running board, too, hanging on for dear life, and swaying outward whenever a passenger wanted to get off. On the summer trips to the Willows, or Marblehead or to Asbury Grove in Campmeeting week, men hung on by the skin of their teeth and the conductor had to be a gymnast to get by them to collect the fares. On the Asbury Grove line, too, the power was weak, so the cars simply crawled and it seemed as if you spent half your day going and coming. These open cars were the automobiles of our youth. It used to be a great treat to take a trip Sunday morning to the Willows, or even as far as Wakefield. Traffic was light, then, so we had lots of fun for a few cents.

Sometimes we paid plenty. Some may perhaps remember when the road over Highland Avenue to Lynn was opened and our gang took the trip. The company was determined to make good on its investment, so it seemed that every five minutes the conductor came around for another nickel. A diabolic invention of the street car company was the turn-out. This was a double track for a short distance. Cars going one way rested on the turn-out until cars coming in the opposite direction could pass them. I remember the turn-outs with distinct displeasure, because I lived on Essex Street directly opposite one of them and all night long in the summer the cars to the Willows passed and repassed our house, doing all sorts of damage to our sleep. Of course you didn't have to use the trolleys. When a young fellow, for example, wanted to give his girl a special outing, he hired a perfectly safe horse, attached to a buggy, and treated the young lady to a ride to Danvers or some other far off place.

Now, how did we dress in those far-off days? Well, when I was a little boy, youngsters up to four or five years of age wore kilts. I can prove the statement, because I have a photograph of myself wearing them. After the kilts we graduated into short pants — knee pants — below which were long, black stockings. My picture of our class at the Prescott School shows a row of us in these tight-fitting affairs. There was just one trouble with the stockings. When a fellow was playing in the school yard, he was apt to fall on the gravel and dig a big hole in his knee. To prevent this mishap, some of us were condemned to wear knee caps of leather. These caps were tied under the knee and were a fairly good protection, but very uncomfortable. Our graduation to long pants was an event duly celebrated by the gang. Of course we wore long drawers and woolen undershirts. Sometimes these shirts were fleece lined for extra warmth. How they made you itch. Then, when we had outgrown blouses, with flowing artist-style neck ribbons, we donned stiff-bosomed white shirts, which buttoned behind, just as your dress shirt does now. Collars and cuffs were separate. A shirt could be worn for several days but the collar had to be changed. It was fastened by collar buttons, fore and aft. Sometimes they were of gold,

but it was a hazardous thing to invest in an expensive collar button, because it had a way of getting lost.

Some men tried to cheat the laundry by wearing celluloid collars, which could be cleaned with a damp cloth. But no really fastidious dresser would consider such a substitute. Some men, too, had starched bosoms which they could tuck in their manly fronts. Cuffs were generally attached by a metal clasp, that came for the purpose, and in the office were usually taken off. I was quite a young man when colored soft shirts, with white detachable collars, mostly starched, came into being. For a time they, too, fastened in the back. I remember that the best dressed man in our group seriously questioned whether it was respectable to attend church in one of these shirts, and he further doubted the respectability of going without a vest. It was this same young man who wore a frock coat for best. Quite stunning! Of course, when he had one, I had to have one, too. The collars were the worst. In my High School days these collars were high and stiff, sticking up two or three inches into your neck and making every movement of the head a torture. But it was style, so we had to bear with them.

To add to our discomfort, pointed toe shoes were worn with these monstrosities. The toes came to a real point, and while the shoeman would tell you that they were so constructed that the foot was perfectly comfortable, experience proved him to be wrong. I went through one winter with a pair of these shoes and my little toes have never been the same since. Even the ordinary shoes were not as comfortable as those we wear today. The leather was heavier and stiffer. What was called wax calf was considered to be the best. That was before the days of the Salem Oil & Grease Co. Men's shoes were black and high. Low shoes were worn in summer only. Polishing shoes was a tedious process. The blacking was hard, so you had to dip the brush in water to soften the blacking. Russet leather was just coming in, and was called Russia leather. Polishing it was difficult and not altogether satisfactory, for first the shoe had to be cleaned with an evil-smelling liquid, which always left the surface an uneven color, after which the paste was applied. Ordinarily it took a week or two of suffering to break in a new pair of shoes. I can remember a cartoon of a man who

wanted attention. So he was late at church, where the squeaking of his new shoes, as he walked down the aisle, focused the eyes of the entire congregation on him.

Women's shoes were likewise stiff. They were high-buttoned affairs which had to be broken in, like men's. And a very essential article was the long buttonhook. A woman of my acquaintance solved the breaking-in problem to her own satisfaction by putting on the shoes and then soaking both feet and shoes in a pail of water. She said it made them fit. The women also suffered from high collars. Theirs were of lace or net, with stays to hold them in place. Those stays reached right up under the ear to give a giraffe-like appearance to the wearer.

Women also wore black cotton stockings. But it didn't make any difference, because skirts reached almost to the tip of the shoes. There was a popular song about a daring young lady who, while crossing a muddy street, lifted her skirt so that the men could see "her pretty ankles and her dainty feet." Sometimes the stockings weren't black. A friend of my mother's, who was something of a practical joker, contrived to sit on a stone wall beside a friend of hers while their pictures were being taken. Just as the camera was snapped, she pulled at her friend's skirt and exposed one of the legs. It was covered with a stocking woven in great rings of alternating colors, something like the gay socks the boys wear today. What a blessing long skirts were sometimes.

The well-dressed man also wore gloves, not the comfortable kind we have now, but kid monstrosities that fitted just as tightly as they could be stretched over the fingers. It was an effort to close your hand, but anything comfortable was unfashionable.

Hats were mostly derbies, like those that Tim Reardon made famous. They were universally black and all right unless you placed one carelessly on the chair next to yours and somebody sat on it. In that case, the hat was a total loss.

We carried canes. You can imagine the well-dressed young man sauntering up Lafayette street on a Sunday afternoon, derby hat perched jauntily on his head, his neck stiff under his three inch collar, his feet aching from tight-

fitting pointed shoes, with the cane gayly swaying in his glove-imprisoned hand.

Indeed, we paid a lot more attention to formal dress than we do now. In summer, instead of sport shirts, we wore light colored vests. Dignified men donned frock coats on Sundays and special occasions, while the tall hat, derisively called the "stove pipe" was a mark of distinction and respectability. It was especially conspicuous in the Easter parade. My most dress-conscious friend used to declare that when he was married he would dress for dinner every night — dress meaning full tails.

Speaking of well-dressed men, there was George. George was a general assistant in the office of an insurance man. The legend goes that he was just a dirty little ragamuffin until someone outfitted him with a complete set of new clothes. From that time on, George was the Beau Brummel of Salem. To see him on the street, with his curly red hair flaming, delicately pulling on his tightly-fitting gloves, was a sight long to be remembered.

For amusement we had church socials, one-night stands of all the prominent actors and the "ten-twenty-thirt", that is, the repertoire company that played Mechanics Hall for a week, afternoon and evening admission to which was ten, twenty or thirty cents. A seat in "nigger heaven" went for ten cents. The Bennett & Moulton Opera Company, founded in Salem, always did a rushing business. To this day I can remember "Fra Diavolo", my favorite, and many of the other light operas.

One of my pleasant recollections is that of seeing the "Black Crook". I suppose today you would call it musical comedy, for it had dancing and all the other features that link a light plot together. One of the dancers pirouetted on her toes, an unheard-of feat at the time. It was, I believe, the first of this kind of entertainment. Productions of this sort were frowned on by many people, but I was taken to the show by my mother, one of whose former schoolmates was a member of the cast.

We mustn't forget Dr. Daniels. The doctor, a magnificent figure in a frock coat and tall hat, travelled with a vaudeville troupe that performed in Lyceum Hall. The vaudevillians, who sometimes paraded with the doctor at

their head, were the come-ons. Dr. Daniels' specialty was extracting teeth without pain, right on the stage, no charge for the operation. A schoolmate of mine permitted one of his teeth to be pulled. I asked him about the pain, he replied that the tooth came out so quickly that whatever pain there was, was over in a second.

The theatre was frowned on by many good people. I remembered discussing the assassination of Lincoln with the mother of one of my schoolmates. "But he wasn't in a very good place when he was shot" she said.

Our great day was the Fourth of July. Then things broke loose with no holds barred. The most advertised event was, of course, the famous bonfire on Gallows Hill. That evening the folks who lived on Boston street and in its vicinity never thought of going to bed. It wouldn't have done them any good if they had. And on the hill itself and in the fields around it, was a regular Saturnalia. There were fireworks on the common. Almost every year somebody was killed by the explosions, but a little incident like that put no damper on the occasion. The real celebration came the night before on Essex street. You held your life in your hands if you strolled along Essex street after six o'clock. Reckless young men would explode blank cartridges from their revolvers behind your back and at your feet. The smaller boys had multitudes of torpedoes and fire-crackers. The center of this pandemonium was the cobble-stone court in front of the Old Essex House, which then set back from the street. Sometimes there were horribles parades, which occasionally contained some pretty pertinent comments on local happenings.

For the children Professor Fillebrown gave two free performances of magic in Mechanics Hall. Charlie Fillebrown was a furniture painter and refinisher by trade, who worked for Mr. Thurston in the building which I believe is now the Hathaway House. He was also a very capable professional magician, who had toured all over the country. I knew him well, for I was a pupil of his. Two of his feats were famous. One was his Mystery Box. He would put this box on any convenient table, chair or even a piano, crook his little finger around the handle and easily lift it. Then he'd touch it with his wand and ask his volunteer

assistant to try. The box seemed heavier. Again he would touch it with the wand. It was heavier still. The process kept on until finally the assistant couldn't budge it. Then the professor would open the drawer, which previously had been shown empty and pull out enough stuff to fill a trunk. He swore that the secret of this box would die with him, but one of the volunteers confided in me that the magician simply whispered to him to pretend that the box became heavier. The acting was perfect and the youngsters in the audience, including myself, were goggle-eyed with amazement. His really finest bit of sleight of hand he could produce anywhere, and he often did it on the street. He carried with him a little black ball which he could make appear and reappear at will. He would toss it into his hat, and presto! it would vanish, to reappear in some odd place. Now although I knew the secret of the trick and could even give an imitation of the act, I still couldn't follow that ball.

Most of our stores were small, local affairs, although even then we had Almy's, or Almy, Bigelow and Webber, as it was originally and later Almy, Bigelow and Washburn and the William G. Webber Co. There were many small dry goods stores, such as Shepard's and Briggs and Wilkins. In the clothing stores like Palmer's, John Collins' and Kent & Boynton, the suits were piled on tables instead of being hung on racks.

The food stores were not the sanitary places they are now. Fruit was freely exposed to the flies. Corned beef was kept in a barrel and fished out with a hook. Some of it sold for three cents a pound. Milk was peddled in huge cans, to be poured into any receptacle you brought with you.

The drug stores had what we called soda fountains, where a few cold drinks could be purchased. And if you were fussy enough to demand only pure candy for your children, you asked at the drug store for rock candy or coltsfoot sticks. Youngsters didn't ask for a nickel or a dime for candy, when they could buy ten licorice niggers for a cent. The store hours were long, and some stores, at least closed all day Sunday. This was particularly true of the big store on Essex street, C. H. & J. Price, where even the curtains were pulled on the Sabbath. If you were in des-

perate need of medicine, you pressed the button beside the door, to call the clerk who was on hand to put up prescriptions only. Some other stores followed the Price's example.

Naturally the stores had window displays, but they were more altruistic than, let us say, the Ropes windows of today. One Christmas, Webbers devoted the best window to a miniature reproduction of Peary at the North Pole, complete with cotton batting snow, miniature figures and all.

The drug stores didn't offer all the remedies they do now, so we made some of our own. In the Spring, everybody took a mixture of sulphur and molasses, to tone up the system after the long, cold winter. For a cold in the chest, the prime remedy was goosegrease. It was quite common to have goose for Christmas, so the housewife saved all the grease, to be rubbed on our chest if we were suspected of having colds. It was greasy, it was smelly, but it penetrated and probably did some good. Appendicitis hadn't been discovered, so many good people died from "inflammation of the bowels" when they could have been saved by the present simple operation. Not much was known about tuberculosis, either.

Men carried pocket watches and sported watch chains across their manly fronts — the more prominent the man, the heavier the chain. The glory of the male was in his beard or moustache. Beards were of all sorts — flowing, pointed, square, spade, sideburns and muttonchops. And moustaches! There were the kind that stood out straight, bangs that drooped way over the lips, brushes that swept a long distance on either side of the nose, and of course the immature ones that had just started their silky growth. Twirling the moustache was an art. The giant kind, especially the bangs, got in the way of liquids, so moustache cups were invented. These had a lip which lifted the hair while the owner drank through the slot in it. I remember giving my father one of these for Christmas. Our most famous moustache was the one adorning Mayor Joe Peterson. It was beautiful and abundant. But one day, when the mayor was a bit absentminded the barber asked if he should trim the moustache. "Yes" said he. The result was a closely clipped bang which made his honor almost unrecognizable.

I don't believe the mayor ever quite recovered from the shock.

Few men shaved themselves, for it was a difficult job with the old-fashioned razor. Indeed, if the Gillette hadn't been invented we might be a nation of whiskered beauties to this day. But men were also fussy, so on the shelves of the barber shops were rows of shaving mugs, each with a name or an initial, so that a man could be lathered with his own soap and with his own brush. At that, many men shaved only Saturday night and Wednesday.

In those days people went to church, that is, many of them. The Protestant churches had large congregations, especially at Easter. On that day, in the church which I attended, every pew and every seat in the balcony was filled, with people standing in the aisles. We young fellows, who were ushers, had to stand on tiptoe to peek over their heads. Many people "owned" pews or seats. One of these proprietors in my church was ex-Mayor William Hill. He and his wife came once a year: and what a fuss he would make, even if he was late, if his pew was occupied. The ministers spent much energy preaching against bad habits, especially smoking. But even then some ministers smoked. They pilloried Sunday newspapers. One of them, however, suggested that Monday papers be abolished, because work on them was done on Sunday. Naturally, they condemned card playing and the theatre. But I recall that in one quite rigid church there was an entertainment, obviously, except for the scenery, an amateur drama, which was gracefully accepted under the title of "a dialog".

We had newspapers in those days, too. The three I remember are the *Observer*, the *News* and the *Gazette*. The *Observer* was a weekly, published by Newcomb & Gauss. It was a sort of literary sheet and finally passed into oblivion. The *Gazette* and *News* were dailies. The *Gazette* was quite an ancient sheet, and although it finally died a lingering death, gave the *News* a run for its money as long as it was on the scene. My first job was that of a reporter on the *Gazette*, right after I left High School. The pay was three dollars a week, and the hours 8 A. M. until I got through. When I added my talents to the concern the *Gazette* was on the second floor of the building over the present Clark

& Friends. Significantly, James Clark was one of the city editors of the Gazette under whom I served. That was before he embarked in the haberdashery business.

The reporters' room was small, with two roll top desks for the editors and a table. Would you believe it, all of our copy had to be written in longhand, for there wasn't a typewriter in the place. George Granville Putnam, maritime, historical, church and general reporter, had a trick way of holding his pencil which, he said, would avoid writer's cramp. This was probably true, but I never was able to master the technique. The editor was Abel G. Courtis, a courteous gentleman, who had pretensions to literary eminence. His "Ode to the Moon" or the Sun or something like that, he told me, had been widely praised. But, alas, he ended his writing career turning out advertising for a credit house in Boston.

Even then the News was the big paper. The Gazette was ahead of the News in one particular. It was the first to use linotypes. The News was set by hand by some fifty or more girls who did a remarkable job in putting together a long article in a few minutes. John Tivnan, who was then foreman, would cut the manuscript into small slices, called "takes", each one numbered. Each girl was given a "take" so that in a few minutes fifteen or twenty of them could set a column story, the type for which was assembled by the numbers.

The Gazette was finally bought by the Lynn Item, which installed Harley Cummings as city editor. Mr. Cummings was once a Cadetman, and in his later years postmaster at Lynn and a Rotarian. Things began to hum. Robin Damon of the News was equal to the threat. As I got the story, he bought an interest in a Lynn paper which competed with the Item, as the Gazette had with the News. The Item didn't like that worth a cent, so finally Damon pulled out of Lynn and the Item out of Salem. For some time afterwards Damon kept the Gazette going, apparently to keep another paper out, but it was only a ghost of its former self and finally gave up. Of all the employees on both News and Gazette, I believe Fred Gannon and myself are the only survivors. The Lavender Printing Company is

the direct descendant of the Gazette. It was originally the Gazette Press, purchased from Mr. Damon.

Before the paper went out of business I had left it to go with the Vaughn Machine Co. of Peabody, predecessor of the Turner Tanning Machinery Co. Mention of that company reminds me of the long working hours of the shop men. Factories kept open 10 hours a day, six days a week. It was quite an effort to catch the early train to Vaughns, especially on a cold winter morning. And train fare deducted from my three dollars a week left very little for extravagant living. Wages were low. They started at \$9.00 a week and advanced by fifty cent steps, until the very best machinists received \$15 a week. For a sixty hour week that meant just 25 cents an hour.

While I was there a great change came about. We were given Saturday afternoons off! So ingrained was the custom of keeping open a full day that the Vaughns insisted on one of the clerks staying in the office on Saturday afternoon. "There might be a cable from Europe" he declared. What good the clerk on duty would be in that case, nobody knew. The cable code was locked in the vault, as were all the books.

In those early days we didn't have time clocks, so the men filled in their own tickets. One day the young lady who made up the payroll noticed a card which showed a full week's work. But she happened to remember that as we of the office force came to work on the train an hour later than the workmen, this particular chap had been on the same train. Investigation disclosed that he had filled out his card correctly, had it O K'd by his foreman, and then had changed the time.

Saturday noon brought trouble to the street car men, too, for on Saturday the men had to go home by trolley instead of taking the five o'clock train. And so many ten dollar bills were proffered the conductor for the five cent fare that the poor man nearly went out of his head.

Many of you knew the Vaughn brothers. Ira was quite a figure in the Cadets. He was elected Quartermaster, and when he donned his resplendant uniform as a commissioned officer, he insisted that his bookkeeper and right hand man, Bert Chute, should enlist as quartermaster sergeant.

Charlie Vaughn was a peppery individual, who came back from the company's office in Germany sporting a moustache just like the Kaiser's. You remember, it stuck up on either side of his nose like two lamp posts. He didn't like to be crossed. Once, when something had gone wrong in the shop, he stamped through the office, declarjng: "I'll be _____ if I'll have anyone tell me I am wrong, even if I am!" In his later years Charlie became a member of the Philadelphia Rotary Club, and was I think, a past president. One of the proudest moments of my life was when I visited that club, sat with my former employer and called him "Charlie". And not so many years before I had been his office boy!

You bankers who are used to armored cars will shudder when you learn how we handled the pay. I was paymaster and on Saturday morning, Mr. Harvey, the cashier, and I came to Salem from South Peabody on the train, collected the money at the bank and half an hour later went back on the next train. No protection. No firearms. I have been told that my successor carried a revolver, of which he was very much afraid. When we got to the plant, I put the pay envelopes in a box and went around the shops, paying the men where I found them, even going to the stables and other distant parts, with no thought of danger.

A delight in election years was the torch light procession. The faithful formed into clubs with fancy names and fancier uniforms and then paraded in the various towns. Each man carried a torch, so the effect was spectacular. In Salem we had the Salem Witches, husky lads in full witch costume, with the torch at the end of their brooms. In front the devil marched, behind him a huge caldron blazing with red fire. From Haverhill, I think, came the Brother Jonathans, in Uncle Sam costumes. The others I don't remember. These were all Republicans. There were Democratic organizations, too, but almost everybody was a Republican. Probably not a single vote was changed as a result of these gay parades, but at least they made the campaign picturesque, and took the sting out of the oratory.

EXTRACTS FROM INTERLEAVED ALMANACS OF NATHAN BOWEN, MARBLEHEAD, 1742-1799

These records were kept by Nathan Bowen, who was born in 1697 and died in 1776. After his death, his sons Capt. Edward and Ashley and his grandson Nathan continued the series. Nathan, Sr. was described as a shop-keeper, scrivener and esquire. He was also called "gentleman" in deeds and was town clerk at one time. He left a large estate for the period, more than £2,220. He had land in Windham, Maine, and a negro named Fortune. He was married three times and his wives were Sarah —, Hannah Harris and Mary Boden, the last named surviving him.

Nathan Bowen signed the Governor Hutchinson Address and was loyal to the Government, but, like several other Marblehead men, he changed his views and adhered to the cause of the Colonists.

Capt. Edward Bowen, born in Marblehead in 1720, was a yeoman, mariner and esquire. He had much to do with legal affairs in the County. He was married four times, his wives being Elizabeth Boden, Mary Burnham, Deborah Kimball Hawkes, widow of Benjamin Hawkes, and Mrs. Mary Cross, the latter surviving him.

Capt. Ashley Bowen, born in 1727, was a mariner and rigger of vessels. He was in the Louisburg expedition to Canada in the French and Indian War. He recorded much of the maritime matter in the diary. He was married three times, his wives being Dorothy Chadwick of Boxford, Mary Shaw and Mrs. Hannah Graves.

Deacon Nathan Bowen, born in Marblehead, 1752, was a cabinetmaker. He married Elizabeth Martin, Mrs. Hannah Martin and Mary —, last named surviving him. A short genealogy of the Bowen family was given by Sidney Perley in Vol. X of the Essex Antiquarian.

It is rather difficult to follow the family contributions to the diary but the matter relating to Marblehead and the people are quite clear. These interleaved almanacs were copied by the Essex Institute from the original which in 1917 was in the possession of Professor W. E. Story of Worcester, Massachusetts.

Janry 24, 1742 This Town seems Infatuated about what ye people Call Religion, some of ye fishermen & others of ye like powers pretend to Extreordanary Gifts!¹ one of them (namely F. Salter) has Set up a Meetg for Even^g Devotion & is attended by Crowds of women &c. I hear y^t a womans meetg is on foot, & to my great Wonder these practices are Encouraged from the Pulpit by Mr Bradstreet,² tho I should think they Tend directly to subvert ye Good order in society, which its his Regular office to maintain. I expect the Dissentg Clergy will ferment these practices, til they end in the Distraction of their Kingdom & a more general & happy Introduction of our Mother Church of England;³ which (happy for ye people) admits of no such Confusion

28. lost my Horse at Salem

Febry 10. Bragdon returnd 2/ P Cord of ye Money he recd last fall

16. R Bull Interred

22. this Morng at 4 o'Clock I viewd a large Comet⁴ bore E 5° South per Meridn & about 4 H. above ye Horozn the Tail makg an L of abt 10 Degrees pointg at S. W. This Town seem to be going Distracted after one Rhods & other mean people who pretend to an Extreordy shair of ye spiret by force where of they draw together the Giddy Mobb & of silly women in great Multitudes to these they have the Impudence to denounce Damnation &c & have thereby thrown some of ye weakest of ye pupels in to Swounds &c which they say, is a Shrude Sign of yr Conversion! O, Striped Ignorance! what most surprizes me, is yt ye Clergy to many of ym/ are weak enou to be so Infatuated by this new Light so Called, as to progegate it at ye greatest risque of their Livings & Bread, for who would pay a preacher £400 P Ann. when we can have ym (Such as they are) for nothing? but If the Priests Lips which should preserve Knowledge

1 The commotion caused by the Whitefield evangelistic meetings in the Colony.

2 Rev. Simon Bradstreet, pastor of the Second Congregational Church.

3 Bowen was a communicant of St. Michael's Episcopal Church.

4 Was this Halley's Comet?

Are Employed in progegating folly, they deserve the utmost Contempt. to be sure at present we are far from a Famine of ye Word; for we are now Taught, even out of ye mouth of Babes & Sucklings! seven Carters Coblers & ye many Labourers leave their Honest Imployments & Turn Teachers. Alas, we are like to be well Taught! Oh New England. Ichabod.

25. This morng 2:30 I saw ye Comet bore about N.East abt 40° Altitude By which I judge the Direction of it to be near due North and yt the Diffc^e of Latt^d from Monday last to this time is near 25° Degrees, a Prodideous velocity! the Tail seems longer yn at first & more Luminous

26. at 4 oClock A. M. the Comet appeared East 17° Nor. the Lattd. betwixt 3 day last 4 oClock & now, is about 35° Diff Longt to about 15° the Direction about N. 20° West the Motion of this Comet seems just the reverse of yt in fol 1737 but ye Velocoty of this near double to that this I presume will go round ye \odot , tho ye prest direction seems other wise, the tail of this seems longer & more Lumins yn ye above mentiond

28. I saw ye Comit at 11.30 eveng. Bore N. 35° E alt. abt. 20° . I beleve it passes wholly above the Horizen The Grand Omnipotent seem to be on Religeon but the worst of it is, its more in Theory y^a Practice. This week, young Crocker a new Famous Preacher came to Salem and preached there to a great croud of ye Rough Gent. he is a Boanargus it seems, and laid about him til he Slew ym Hip & Thigh i. e the old women were affrighted in to Fits of Schreeching; & the utmost Confusion Many Actions of the persons affected have put some of the more thinking in that Town; in mind of ye worm wood & ye Gall of 1692. What may be the Catastrophe thereof God only knows who has the hearts of all men in his hands, & all Events in his power

March 3. went to Ipswich

4. Col Turner died suddenly

16. I saw ye Commit ye 13th. within about 10° of ye N pole.

19. last night I saw ye Commet about 8° from ye pole star the cours of this Comit seems to have been

North alittle westerly ever since it's appearance it seems now to be withdrawing from us appearing every night more Dull & the Tail less viserble so that in about a month's time This Phoenamenon has with prodigious Velocity passed by this Terraqueous Globe from South to North near upon the same Meridian varying only a little to ye westward. Methinks there is a Similitude btwixt this Commet & the New Light⁵ soCalled in that

1. This made its appearance from ye Southward That did ye like i e Whitfield⁶ from Georgia, Tennant from Jersey &c.
2. This brought Terror on ye Ignorant world. so did ye other witness ye wild disord at Newbury Ipswich & other places where even ye priests made it their constant Business to affright ye Ignorant people in to distraction as tho ye only way to Heaven was thro Badlam
3. This by its departing from us ie approach toward the pole has lost most of its Lustre & terror. So that seems of late to be happily abated, & we have good reason to hope yt the Hot Spirit of Enthuseasm, which has so pested this part of ye Globe, for some time past, is now on the Decline. Our Priest B_____t who has been Retrograde some time is now Stationary & I expect he will soon be Direct again & I hope this will soon be ye Case of many of the rest of ym
24. we are now full of apprehension abt a High Tide which Some body has given out to be many feet higher than Common on ye 25 Inst Alas how prone are the Common people to Superstition its in the power of any designing man to Turn their Heads as he pleases,
25. Ashley Arived yesterday.
29. went to Court
30. Went to M Rogers Evening Exersice where N. Rogers Informed (in his way) Tenets much below ye Dignity of the Christian Scheme tho he delt in Thunder, Fire & Brimstone; yet it was done in So Lazy a Manner as not to Raise one Crying out & not one poor Sinner as we know

5 The New Lights was a religious congregation organized by Whitefield followers.

6 Rev. George Whitefield, the English evangelist, who had been preaching in Georgia.

of Converted that night tho at Lecture next day & in ye Evening fryday after we hear of greate Effustions (or rather Confusions) in that assembly. Buck is now at Charlestown Bewitching ye Common Gentry. Who would think that ye Clergy would be Such fools as to propegate this work, as some of ym do So much to ye Hazzard of their Dependance, But it must be Allowed that ye most Thinking of them foresee the Impending dainger & appose; & this Distemper seems to affect week mind principle We have a Flagrant Instance of this in this Town Poor Bradstreet when wilt thou see? & be wise, Thy Bread, thy Bread!

April 1. This Day Commences the happy reduction of Our paper Bills to 6/8 per Ounce. Its now Just 40 years Since paper Bills have been in Use in This province. they were for Some years Taken & received in all Trade Equal to 6/8 P ounce of Silver but by the folly of ye Government were by degrees Depreciated til 1736 the Gen Court Established them at 20/ P & made other (Called N. Tener) three times as Good as the old, tho they Expressed the same thing in other words. But now the Governmt has reduced the Idea of MONEY at 6/8 per ounce & made a new Set of Bills to be Equal to ye Estamate & all other former Bills are to be more or less in proportion as they purchase Silver this will put an End to the Sea of fraud which has been Rife among all Sorts of people; and now every man's Estate if he has any, may be truly valued. The poor Town of Charlestown is now suffering the Impertenants of Cros-well & Buel 2 Itenerate Preachers their manner is a Disgrace to ye Christian Scheme! oh Charlestown! O' New England! What will become of Thee in ye End hereof! Poor Rann hanged him self on their Accot, I presume!

May 3. Went to Boston

4. Came home via Cambridge It Seems as tho the Clergy in Boston &c were coming a little to rights, tho to the reproach of the Cloath, they Still Caball & hold their Solemn Assemblys. The Causes of this dis order in Religeous Matters, prevailing at present in most parts of the Brittish Colonys, may be these

1. Tis Notorious that ye Dissenting Churches have no Setled foundation or Social Cand i e No Establishment, rule or Authority all acting under the Toleration by

which Dissenters of all denominations may do what they please in religeous matters (as it were) with Impunity; the Laws of the relm has no hold on them.

2. This Naturally produces Licenciousness in the people, & Tirany in the priests but our Dissenting Clergy are So dependant on ye people for ye Election & Subsistance that they dare not Exert themselves on the side of Truth when the peopular run is agt it The case at present seems to be this; Our Clergy for many years past have been composd of young fellows who idle away their youth At College & then Squat down in the first Parish yt pleases to Choose them, on Such term as the people are pleased to Settle them upon which is generally mean enou. this mean Salery (& what else the people are pleased to give them in private preasants) is the whole dependance of most of them, which is in many places but little Superiour to ye wages of a porter, or Day Labourer. Indeed but few go in to ye Ministry that have powers enough to get Estates out of it. Those poor Creatures are the watchmen of the people! & Like Priest; Like People is the Natural Consequence In this Condition Whitfield found us in 1740 & in a public manner from Town to Town Testified against the Stupidity, Idleness & Ignorance of these Gospel Wolves, in Sheep's Cloaths as he called y^m in This (as 'twas natural) allarm'd the people of their Dainger by the wretched Idleness of yr Priests. This Trumpet of Whitfields soon awaked those Sleepy Shepherds, who (like men in a fight) Set too, with all their might to thro down the amn of Sin & at once to Destroy ye Devil & all his works, and in Imitation of Whitfield as near as they Could; (tho their orritory resembled his, as much as a Boy of two years old would resemble a Danceing Master, in making his Humble servant cast about Firebrands, Arrows & Deth as tho they were Solomans Mad men and the Bottomless pit with all its Volcanian Materials are set open & the flashes thereof thrown in our faces, and the roaring of the Pulpit More Dredfull than the Murmermgs of Etna. this uncooth behavr of the Distracted Clergymen, heth had its natural Effect on week minds i. e.

has thrown some of ym in to Trances & Transports, which they Call ye opperation of ye Spiret of God! others of the meanest Capacity i e) women & even Common negros take upon them to Extort their Betters even in the pulpit, before large assemblys. Many Instances hereof dayly accrue in many places, to the Disgrace of the Christian name Tel it not in Gath! The Boston Clergy some of ym Explodes this folly; & like wise Shepherds Secured their flocks from the Common Enimy But the more Sanguine & unstable soles drove on Night & Day, in this greate work! til they had near unhinged the Society & Introducud all manner of Anerchy & Confusion & while they have greatly endaigerned their own; For its now reputabule for Common fellows to preach pray & Extort in Public, without any other Consideration, than the Gratifying his own Vain pride of hart, & who would pay Clergy men for preaching, when a Lay Brother or Sister, can by ye Immediate Impulse of ye Sperit Teach to better purpose, for nothing? of this the more Thinking part of ye Boston Clergy are aware, & would be glad to recall their rash follys, but dare not attempt to Stop ye Current least by disobliging their people, they forfiet their Benefits, & So they row down the Stream in the rabble rabble, now & then making Some faint Assays to Appose the Currant, but are soon repuls'd by the rough Gentry who now take a freedom with them which, 12 months ago, would have been Adjudged Impious! all which Contempt of ye Clergy, is the Natural Effect of their late Imprudence and its but Just & reasonable yt they Should reap the fruits of their own doings. So they have but little pitty or regard from ye more thinking part of man kind,

25. Waitd. on ye Gov. via Fort -----

26. I heard at French Chh Boston Mr. Coswell an Irish Gent. from math. 7. 15.0. he having no Dependance, dared to be Honest and in a Fair & rational manner proved yt Whitefield, Trent & the rest of the Clan, were Wolves in Sheeps Cloathing, & that they Coisided with the Car-ractor given by Paul of some Gentry in his Days II Timo. 3 ch. as this Man had nothing to Loose; So he had nothing

to fear, but like a Champion boldly defended the cause of TRUTH agt. all opposit before a large Assembly of Clergy &c

June 3. Was Insulted by Upton & Pudney (2 Villians) under pretext of Wolcots Deputation

9. & 10. At Boston to Gov Shirly.

12. My Wife & M Le Gallais went to Boston

15. The returnd. Rhod Island is now Issuing a new set of Bills (to Exchange ye Cast Emition A D 1720.) Some of ym being Counterfieted with out any time of redemption of fund for Securing the Possessor; so yt if they can get Credit for these last Bills, on the former funds, they may for ye future Impose as they please Thus They this year Emit £100,000. in Bills on a good fund to be redeemd — we'l say in 3 years by Silver at 6/8 P oz. This gives them A Credit — and they Soon pass in to ye Hands of people who part with their Interest in lieu of ym. When this is done & they have got our Wealth. 'tis but to Suggest that Some of the Bills are Counterfitted; & then they shall Issue new Bills without any Security (as is the present Case) & the possessor Should be Obliged to take them in Stead of ye Good Bills.

July 1. Coleman Saile (Edwd in her) for Holland. 25. ulto. the Infamous Davenport Arived at Charles town & is now preaching in Boston. he comes to Boston (it Seems) on ye Same Errand that old Jonah carried to Nenivie and is like to make greate Confusion & disorder in that Town, I presume the Governmt will be forced to Exert the Civil power (how much to dair of persecution may be the Cry) and treat him as he was used in Connecticut. its remarkable that his Stand in the Common, is nearer to Bedlam than Whitfields; & its hoped by ye more Sober part of ye Town yt he will Soon be taken within the walls where he may preach to People of his own Quality; which doubtless is the fittest place for him at present.

19. Davenport is Still full of the Spirit, (of Enthusiasm) preaching about Boston to the Common Rabble, but he & his Doctrine & all his Appurtenances are despised by the more Sober & thinking O LORD! how Dredful the force of Enthusiasm; how Stuped is frail Man? What a Composition is Human Nature? O New England! Now

hast thou been Ravaged? Whitfield robbed thee of thy peace and in return pronounce thou 1/2 Beast & half Devils, Tenant robb'd us of our Reason and like Solomans Madman, cast out firebrands Arrows & Death 'til he had wrought effectually on ye old women of both Sexes — Since him Croswell Bewel and others of the Same Clan have Infested Thee and now, O' Davenport, thy fame is Spoken of and Celebrated through out the Gaping Multitude, Thy Bedlam Freaks, make thee A Wonder of the Mobb, & the Scorn of the Wise & Sober. Oh New England, why art thou thus besotted? why are thy priests So Biggotted to folly; O! New England, O! My Country!

30. At night Thunder & Continual Lightning for 4 Hours Scarce a Minute Intermission, did damage at Boston Govr Shirly & Company, in our Bay in their Passage to Georges, on An Interview with ye Indians I wish him a good voyage

31. Govr. & Comp. at Nantasket wind bound

Augt 2. Planted Beens for Pickels which were this years produce. We hear yt Jack Spainiard has taken Georgia & Whitfields Orphan House, which has eventually done So much real Mischief in the Brittish America, is Gone to ye Doggs. from all Such Impostures and their Cursed train of Followers Good Lord deliver us, — We have been happy in this Town, under the protection of Mr. Barnard!⁷ What A Scene of folly have we Poor Mortals in New England been for near 2 years past, & Scarce a Town in it but has had a Part in the Tragedy, or rather Comedy, which will doutless have A particular Place in the Histry of future Times; But may it be wrap'd in Oblivion least; our Children Should fear that the Period of New Englands Missery, Should be ye Same with the Jewish Jubilee. Alas thy fatal 92 was the days of thy Ignorance But What Shall Excuse thee now? O! Blind Zeal, Pride Self Conceit & Enthusiasm you seem to be the Chief Ingredients in thy Distraction

4. I was at Cambridge Carried Nathan's Apprentice to Mr. Fleet, Printer

5. Returnd home Davenport held forth under an apple tree at Charlestown attended as I was told by the rough

⁷ Rev. John Barnard, who did much to encourage the trade of Marblehead.

Gent. he is now gon Eastward. preachd this week at Ipswich meetg House, wch. I beleve is the first that he has been admitted to, Since his Coming to Boston & I wish it may be the last,

21. Davenport was apprehended on an Inditement for his Disorderly behaviour and refused to accept of Bail tho' urged upon him but to Goal he went, This he Saith his Master Suffred & Why not he? for my part its hard to Say which may have the worst tendency if he's Suffred to go at large, the Community are in dainger by his Exciting the Mobb; on the Other hand Persecution is the Devil; and will make more procelates than all the reason of Solon, or Eloquence of Demosthenes. I wish he was Safely removed from us, I am Asham'd to heare Some things which are reported of him.

This Month Arived here Capt. Abba Crumna from Amsterdam with about 200 People for a Plantation at Georges River.—all the men were on Shore to take the oaths of Alegence &c to K. G. ye 2d.—which was done in a Decent manner & I hope they will forward a Sittlement of those Eastern Lands for the good of the whole

25. Set out for Bristol & lodged at Seconk Plain.

26. At Bristol

27. Set out for home & lodged at do.

28. Arived home in good time & order

Janr. 14, 1743. Settled 2 Voyages for Saml Chaml £2
—Received ye Cash

16. Mary Homan Borne

Cap Geo: Jackson saild for West indias and Carried a great many Corn fish

17. Settled 2 Voyages for Nathl. Hooper and Received ye Cash 40/ £2

19. Capt Geo Jackson saild Second for West Indias
Bought of Mr Cape 406 1/2 porke at 19d—amots to £32.3.7 1/2 and pd in grat £11 Cash

22. Settled 2 fishing Voyages for Mr Andrews ditto. 3 and 2 received £5

Capt Parsimore saild ye 1^d February

First fleet for Isle sables⁸ Saild 18th, Feb

Capt Petter Colman sail'd 23 Febr.

8 Sable Island.

[I was born in the year [1727] on the 6th I am the son of Nathan Bowen Esqr.

Generations Come & Jenerations Pass away. Written by him self this day of July A D 1812]

First Isle sable Vessel Returnd 9th March

March 20. 1743 Published John Johnson and Deborah Thomas, both of this Town Certificate & pd. Published Archibald Laws and Sarah Proctor both of this Town pd 4/6 Certificate 7 April 1743

27. Published John Curtis & Elizabeth Barker both of this Town Certificate ye 28 April

April 3 Published John Lefavour of Topsfield & Mary Cooke of this Town April 3d. 1743 Certificate May 24 7/

4. Some of Isle sable Vessels arrived Second fare

10. Published John Maine and Sarah Collier Both of this Town pd 8/2 (Certificate 9th. May) Published Richd. Savidge and Elizabeth Maine Both of this Town pd 5/

24. Published William Curtis and Tabitha Slade both of this Town 14/ April 24th pd 14/. Certificate 31 May Published Increase Gatchell and Tabitha Harris both of this Town pd Certificate 17 May pd. 12/

May 1. Published Benja. Dodd and Elizabeth Furnis Both of this Town Certificate 16 May not pd

June 13. We the Committee to Attend on ye Line between Messrs. Proctor & Rassell and Capt. Tuckers Tenants 2 Clock aftern[oon]

July 17, 1743 Published Lawrence Bartlett and Mary Ingalls, both of this Town Certificate 27 Sept not pd. pd. 7/. Published John Chambers and Mary Peak both of this Town Certificate 22 Septemr 1743 paid 7/ Published Edward Bowen and Mary Edgcomb July 17, 1743 pd 10/

July 21, 1743 Published Joseph Skinner of Lynn and Sarah Reed of this Town not paid

Augst. 14, 1743. Published Thomas Fippin and Mary Mehoney both of this Town Certificate 29 August 1743 paid 7/

September 11th Published Stephen Heiter & Elizabeth Roades both of Marblehead pd 10/ Certificate 22 Novemr. Published Edward Hailey & Rebecca Wood both of this Town pd. 10/ Certificate Novem Published

Thomas Doliber & Elizabeth Mors both of this Town pd 10/ Certificate 22d Novemr Published Samuell Cardar & Joanna Dennis both of this Town pd. 10/ Certificate Novr 22d

25 Published Nathl. Graves and Elizabeth Nicholson Both of this Town pd 12/ Certificate 22d Novemr Published Richard Williams and Mary Hallit both of this Town pd. 6/ Certificate 28 Novem 1743 Published Joseph Selman & Sarah Blackler both of this Town Certificate & paid Published William Vinson & Sarah Oakes both of this Town pd 10/. Certificate 22 Novemr. Published Thomas Mullett & Mary Hailes both of this Town pd. 7/ Certificate decemr. 1743

28 Published Andrew Marsh & Hannah Diamond both of this Town Certificates 16 Novemr & paid 7/

October 2d. Published Thomas Trefry & Sarah Wallis both of this Town pd. 7/ Certificate 22d Novemr 1743 Published Mathew Pennell and Annist Trefry both of this Town pd. 7/ Certificate 22 Novemr.

16. Published Daniel Goold of this Town and Sarah Stacey of Salem Certificate 7th Novr. not paid 7/

Novemr. 20th. 1743 Published John Jackson & Sarah Rayment Both of this Town 10/ Certificate 22d pd. 10/ Published Samuell Hendly & Sarah Jones Both of this Town pd. 7/ Certificate 9th Decem.

24. Published Thomas Kinball and Mary Ingalls Both of this Town Certificate 10 Janr. & paid 7/6

Decmr 11. 1743. Published Charles Battler and Mary Medison both of this Town not paid Published Dennis Trefry & Sarah Allen both of this Town Certificate 27 Jan pd 10/

18. Published Jacob Reaves of Salem and Abigail Ferguson of this Town Certificate 27 Jana

25. Published Willm. Savidge & Charity Tucker both of this Town Certif 27. Jana 10/ Certificate Memordm

I am to get a barrell of Choice Sounds for Doctr. Bourne of Bristol by Cash recd £14

Febr. 12th. 1743. Published George Thompson and Jane Dodd both of this Town 7/

14. Published George Salkins & Sarah Furnis Both of this Town Certificate 22 March 1743. 10/

17th Published Jonathan Howard of Chelmsford and Susanna Wroe of Marblehead at old meeting Certificate March 14th. 1743 pd 7/

March ye 1d. 1743 Published Mr. Joshua Orne and Mrs. Annist Gallison both of this Town Certificate 14 March March pd

4: Published Joseph Proctor & Annist Stacey both of this Town Certificate ye 22 March 1743 pd. 20/

It is agreed between Nath'l Hooper and John Chipman if Capt Joseph Howard should Get to Holland before Capt Rodes then Mr Chipman pay Hooper 20/ old Tennor to be spent if Rodes gets before him then Hooper pays Chipman 20/ old Tenor to be spent

11th. Published Mr John Palmer of Marblehead and Mrs. Sussannah Barrett of Boston Certificate made out 22 day of March 1744 pd 10 pd 8/

March ye 28. 1744 Published John Felton & Hannah Kimball both of this Town Certificate April 11. 1744. pd 8/ Published John Hutson & Sarah Wood Both of this Town Certificate made 7/

April 7: 1744 Published James Carlyle & Eliza Peak both of this Town Certificate 26 April 1744. pd 10/

Jan 28 1748 a Fast on Acct. of Burng T. House

March 17. Paramore & Co Schoonr Arived in 130 D from Lisbon

[April?] 12. Sarah Goodwin went to Boston to stay 3 Months

June 6 Ind Corn Cryd 32/ Bushel

Ind Corn 34/

July Abt. 12th. Just Plowd 1½ acre of Land for wheat. this was Rye Stubbl. on Indian hills ye year 1747. plowd as deep as possible. the Ground being excessive dry.

15. Harrowd well gathered & Burnt ye weeds.

1. of Augt planted 20. Gr of Wheat in lower Garden from ½ Inch to 2 Inch deep ground very dry: which preventd it coming up til after ye Rain 2 & 3 Septr. abt 8 of Sept. came up all near at ye same time & grows well (Oct. 27.)

Augt. 10. Laid on 15 load of Swamp Dung yt. was

dugg last ffall Spread & plowd in then Harrowd & Burnt weeds.

Abt. 25th. Made Ridges by backing 4 Furrows agt each other. which being too dry to pet. were left til Rain. as they plow left them,

Sept 1 Planted wint Rye in My Garden ye. produce of 1. Crane last Year. Some wasted

Sept 2d & 3. Plentifull Rain after a long Draught. Rain prepared the Earth for Seed, but my Drill not being Ready. twas deferrd to ye 10. then Harrowd ye N. E. first Ridge but for want of Skil & good Drill, poorly planted

2. Robinson work^d 3^d pd 60/ Robⁿ

3. D°.

4. D°. Morgan D°.

5. D° D°. D°.

6. D°.

8. D° D°.

Robinson pd in full

5. this wheat at ffarm Should have been planted ye beginning of Augt. but my Drill was not Ready, however it may do with a warm ffall yt it may got Root before the hard frost takes it.

7. Planted Wheat in My Garden not Steep'd.

9. Rye come up. 15 wheat come up garden

10. Planted ye. 1st. Ridge of wheat at ffarm Irregular

13. planted 2 Rows English wt. next ye Rye

19. do. coming up.

19 & 20. planted ye. other Ridges at the farm with a Drill about $\frac{1}{2}$ a Bushl. hardly So much. 2 Rows 1 foot distance. the Ridges just 6 feet Interval

19 & 20. Harrowd the other Ridge laid ym. Smooth and Drilld them tho' imperfectly. for want of good Tools & Experience

21. planted 2 next Rows with old Eng. wht.

(May 1. 1749 Mem°. the above Wheat for want of Early Sowing did not take Sufficient Root, but the hard frost killd the most of it)

Oct 14th. 1748 rd note for £29:5

20 wheat at ffarm appears in Rows and promises well making proper allowance for late planting

24th. Morgan Team & Webber work'd at lower meadow; 25. Same; 26. Same. finished.

27. Morgan & Team workd by Bridge to ffarrey.
 28. Morgan & Team workd on part wall wth. Para-
 more
 29. Rain'd no work; 31. No work
 Nov. 1. 1748 Morgan workd & Team at D°.
 2 Morgan Team & Webber workd
 3 Same — & Same no Team; 4 Same — Same no
 Team
 5 Morgan workd on Potatoes at Farm sd. nobody
 workd here
 7, 8, 9. Nobody workd
 10 McWyer workd John at Girdler lot
 11 McWyer & Webber workd; 12 Raind
 14 Mrgan workd 3/4 Day; 15 he did not work; 16.
 17' 18. 19. Morgan workd
 21. do workd no more work till after
 24 Thanksgiving 25 Morgan worked
 26 D°. workd; 28 Morgan workd; 29 Morgan
 workd; 30 Morgan & McWyer made up well
 Dec 1 Morgan workd. McWyer til 4 P M
 2 D°. & D°. began at 10 oClock
 3 Morgan & McWyer fetchd wood.
 5 Team but no Morgan but McWyer
 12 Morgan & Team workd; 13 Morgan & Team
 workd 1/2 Day
 17 Morgan & McWyer & Team workd
 21 Morgan & Team workd 1/2 Day
 22 Morgan & Team workd
 23 Morgan & S Webber workd finid wall
 24 Morgan workd on out wall
 29 Morgan work out wall
 Jan. 11. Clark preached
 17. Made Stone wall
 26. Dined at Majorys; 27. & 28. Salem Courts.
 Comonage A D 1749
 Rob Harris 1. Lower Girdler
 Deb Hilton I D° Lower order rec'd
 Mary Clark in Lower rec'd order
 James Vincent in Mid. Division order pd
 Jo. Ashton upper order recd.
 Geo. Oake upper recd order

Mary Boden 1 upper order recd £10
 W^m Stevens 1. upper order recd £10
 Benj Oake 1. Mid order but not pd
 Dea Peare 1. upper Dr.
 Tho Richards upp^r. order pd
 Sam Collier middle ord. pd
 Mary Bartlet Middle. order recd
 M^{rs}: Bodkin, Upper. order pd £9
 Cap Majory 1 Mid. ord. in Lieu of his in the upper Di-
 vision
 Rob Gray mid. pd £6. order
 John Horton 1 up^r. 1/2 Propty pd
 Jos Howard Mid. ord pd
 John Dolliber Mid. ord pd
 Aug^t 1, 1756. Gathered Onions 1½ Inch & Potatos
 near as big!
 8. Wife catchd at Salem wth Mr Prince
 13. At Farm with My Children
 24. At Cambridge wth Sewall this day
 25. Butman & others carried of the Hill 200 load of
 Gravil Stones &c
 June 1. Trustees of School met & Agreed with Mans-
 field to Keep the Gram School £20 P the Coming quart.
 Peter Jayne at £15 & £8 for School Israel Phippen £15.
 P. Qu. & pay his Rent. Sam Ashton £11.5. P. Qu. & pay
 his Rent
 Jan 19, 1757 L^d Louden Arived at Boston
 25. Nephew Israel Bowen came on a Visit
 31. Nephew Israel Bowen came ye 25. & Returnd
 home 28th:
 On the 15 of April I am 59 y^r old!
 May 4. planted pt of my Wheat from Mont Java which
 took for fall wheat but last winter found my mistake as it
 all died & would not bear ye frost
 19. planted the residue of Wheat y^t of ye 4 just appear^g
 up, R H at Boston
 24. Son Nathan Sailed for W Indies
 26. Fleet made up my Wall in Garding
 June 2, 3 & 4. Joseph Mason with stears & Ma
 Moxy with his (One yoke) oxen workd in field plow'd
 with his (One yoke) oxen workd in field plow'd

13. Moxey began to Mow in Palmers Lot y^e upper pt.
 & Northeys Meadow y^e Thick pt.

14. thick of Brookfield Meadow in the morning

16. Set out wth ux for Providence lodgd Medford

17. dind at Maj^r Ponds, Lodgd at Mans,[field]

18. at Providence Lodgt at Jona Randall Inn

19. kept Sabbath there

20. returnd to Providence Lodgd wth Col Jabez

21. went to Rehoboth wth Col^l. Jabez to Col Thos
 Din'd there & then Set out for home L. at Mans[field] dined
 & Lodg'd at Maj^r Ponds

23. Came home

28. & 29. Raymond mowed Palmers Lott

29. Newport; 30. Fast

July 1. Sam Webber & Newport mowed Brookfield
 Newpt began at 7 Webber 9

2. Mowd Ring street Lot & Meadow

4. Newport worked part of y^e Day

5. No work

8. 2^h: 3^m. P M an Earthquake. Sound abt 30. "the
 earths Tremor abt 3". 8. Moxey mowd pleast Mead.
 $\frac{1}{2}$ Day. got in from Brookfield

12. Fortune mowed For Parcimore

13. Raymond & Fortune Mow'd at my Brookfield

15. Fortune finish'd mowing there

16. Sow'd Turnips & Planted Cabage seeds in Hills

25. Martins Vessel Arived wth Fish

26. Fortune work'd for Martin abt Fish

27. Fortune work'd Supra; 28. Fortune work'd
 Supra

29. Fortune work'd Supra $\frac{1}{2}$ Day

30. Fortune work'd Supra all Day Mason made y^e
 Hay at New Town I had my half at 15"9

Aug. 2, 1757. Gov^r Pounall arived at y^e Castle Boston

14. No sight of ye Eclipse but by the degree of dark-
 ness it could not be large. An alarm, in time of Afternoon
 Service to the greate Teror of ye Old Women of both sex's.
 detachd a $\frac{1}{4}$ of y^e Effective pt of y^e Regiment & Sent them
 West ward

15. They marchd under Capt Orne

17. Put in an old news paper doubled. in Lucern Hemp

&c Seed and being well wet doubled over & put in to ye Dunghill according to directions in my Scotch Book for proof of Seeds &c.

19. Erected Scaffold on Ch Tower to put Fane [Vane]

19. They returnd having marchd to West—brough & then remarched not being Wanted R H was Drawn out to go on Expedition in defense of the fronteers pd. W Foster to go in his room 45 Dollars M^r Chipman Saith that ye Eclips was at Halafax, Large and near annular but set before quite So. I had prepared Apperatus for Observing this Eclips by a Lense of 2/10 In. diam. in a Sq. Tube On a circular white paper 6 In. diam^r. divided in to Digets this was to have been fix'd in the Tower of the Church where an Horozntal prospect might be had, & the Room Sufficiently dark for the camera Osecura, But Alas Nature drew her vail & all Our Expectations dwindled into O. M^r. Chipman then at Hallafax Saith that it Sat there near annular

Mary Marim came 25 Day of Sep^r.! At Quantum Mer-cut i:e at $\frac{1}{2}$ Dol P Week

20. took out ye paper & found many of ye Seeds Sprouted near an Inch long with many long worms which Suppose ye of ye Dung; 20. planted these Seeds in Garden for further

22. put up ye Ch Fane [Vane]

26. Rec'd my Husbandry Book fol^o. from Londⁿ. & Seeds planted a Sample in my Garden

27. Went to new C. Ch. up to Boston

Sept^r. 1, 1767 [1757]. Sam Reed Dead Son Ed Sick of feaver Isaac Mansfield Esq. Cow in my powd^r House Lot.

7. Fire Boston

9. Dea Russell here

11. Went home

11. Nath Martin Hurt

12. went to Lyn

15. last of Service

21. Raisd Steeple

30 & Octobr 1, 1757. Traning in this Town Did not go to Sept Court being unwell. Sent G Boden with needful papers, Entrys &c

Oct. 7, 1757. Ux Still at Boston

22. Wight & al began about Steeple
 4. Stone work^d; 5. D^o.
 6. Workd blow^g Rocks &c
 8. Webber & 1 yoke oxen workd; 10. Same
 31. Stone work'd, Cresee & Woodbury workd 1 yoke
 oxen

15. Wrath upon my [head] for pay^g. 1½ Dol for
 Wells to Russell & daring to refuse to Inventory Grays Es-
 tate this day! Cursed be y^t wrath for it was Cruel!

Nov. 1, 1757. Cresee & Woodbury & 1 y oxen & John
 Webber workd

2. all the Same
 3. Cresee Woodb^y. oxen'd Stone workd; 4. all
 Same

5. Cresee & Wood^t. Tole no Stone they went home
 at night; Mason put the farm oxen to Hawlin

10. had a Squash from Farm 17 Inches Long & 32¾
 In round Weighd 20 by Capt Watts Scales.

14. Provisions are quite plenty, not with standing we
Americans Supply near perhaps 40,000 mouths beside our
 Own, with fresh Supplies! this shews that Nature has
 been Bountifull to this part of her work, & Renders this
 Country worthy the Protection of Britain & ourselves, &
 May we be the Care of *the God of Armies*, in Whome is
 everlasting Strength

23. Son Nathan Sailed this Evening
 Dec. 2, 1757. Son Ashley Sailed this morning a good
 time for each; off y^e Coast Anna went to Boston

5. Stone blow'd Rocks on His Way & 1 Day last week
 p^t. on way & pt in field W. H—s Still attending his
 Studies!

17. took oxen from Hawkes Pasture
 22. Set in a Soop plate St fain Lucern & Furze Seeds
 to prove ½ p^t. Soot. ½ p^t. Maze pulverized, mix'd with
 Dung water ½ pt well xix then seeds put in & Covered
 wth & Set in Oven Closet R H—s. Still at his
 Studies

28. abt 7: P M Daug^t. Eliz^a. Delivered of a Daughter
 29. Anna came home
 Cows Commons

Middle	Hawkins	1	
	Legg	3	
	Mason	1	
	Trefry	1	6
		—	
	Bull	1	
	Trouble & Repairs	1	2
		—	
			10
Upper	Jo Palmer	2	6
	Mary Palmer	1	5
	Dennis	1	3
	S. Martin	1/4	4
		—	
	Edgcomb	1	18
	Waldron	3	
	Tucker	1	
	James	1/4	9 1/2
	1 Lower	W S. Hilton	1
		—	
	Brookfield		23 1/4
	Mansfields House	D ^r . 9 Dol	6 3/4
		—	
	Pearees House	d ^r . 9 Dol	Lots 30
	Riches Cow	D ^r .	
	Olivers Cow	D ^r .	
	My Own 2 Cows		
	Cows Leases bet. 1757 To	—	
	Phillips 1 Neck p ^d Rect.		
	Shaply Halley, Neck, order p ^d		
	Sam Archer mid. order D ^r .		
	Capt Gale mid. D ^r . order.		
	Ste Collins, 1 middle D ^r		
	Sam Parker mid ord ^r D ^r		
	John Clark I upper D ^r .		
	Richard Stevens 1 Mid. pd 4 Dol		
	W ^m . Robinson 1 upper D ^r .		
	Mason Philip 1 upper pd P discount		
	M E Andrews 1 upper ord ^r . Recd 4 Dol P Fowl		
	John Shepherd 1 uppr pd ord ^r		
	Sam ¹ Collier 1 middle pd wife ord ^r .		

Rob^t Girdler 1 middle Rect pd.
 Roger Vickery upper pd 12/ ord^r Dr. 12/
 John Picket 1 upper Dr.
 Maj Hendley 1 upp^r for his in mid.
 Jos Roads in Mid. 1 Dr.
 Mrs. Riches

3 of July 1761 about 12 oClock my wife Departed this life and about an Hour after our child being 5 Days old

Janry 1 1762 Salem Court

11 & 12 Very high Tides carried away part of y^e Beach over flowd

12 New Marblehead meeting Graffrin & Bayly had hearing before y^e Council

14 Sent to smith, Minister

21 Town Mee tg, Beach

26 Mrs Majory Died

29 Mrs Majory Interrd

Feb 2 1762 Mrs Eliz stacey Interr'd

3 Coll^o. Blany Interr'd

5 Lewd Girls to workhouse

14 smith, N Mhead

23 Ballard underwood

24 ab^t 4 A M Revd Mr Bours⁹ Died! he was a Good Man Naturally Good & Relatively Good, and Exemptarily Good, Lamented by all orders & Ranks of Men in particular his Brethren in the Clergy, tho' Discenters! Pleasant in their Lives & in their Death they were not Divided. They assisted in bearing his Pall to the Grave!

27 Bours Buried The sudden & Immature death of Mr Bours is Matter of Lamentation thro the Town! as this is the first Ch Minister that has died in this Town; So the first whose parting was Lamented!

Mar 2 Ashley went to Boston

9 Training toDay

10 Training

30 at Crt

31 Came home; Bartlet 4 weeks 3 D.
 Dr

⁹ Rev. Peter Bours married into the well-known Hazard family of Rhode Island. His wife Abigail, was sister to Penelope Hazard who married Capt. Richard Stacey of Marblehead.

Apr. 7 at Salem Broad Bay
 8 Had a Boy worke at farm yesterday is going home
 15 Gen^l. Court Fast at Boston! Took Possession of
 Frothinghams &c House lot Coll^o Brattle admx of
 Allen
 17 Hadly began to Plow
 19 Comtee of ye Beach here from G. C. Mr Wight
 Humphrie & Neck began to work. puld down old Kirk
 house
 20 Pul'd down wood house workd til Breakfst.
 21 Wight Neck & Humphry Workd
 22 Fast
 23 Wight, Hum & Neck
 24 Wight Neck & Humphrie & Jesse
 26 Com. for ye peace
 26 Wight Neck & Humphry; 27 Same; 28 Same
 29 Same Shingling Wood house Planted Mr Bowens
 Barly & Wheat in Ridges Farm, planted Wheat at Bottom
 of ye a handfull left & Skimd from ye rest
 that was planted at Farm
 May 2 planted 35 St foin sed pinks fine growing
 9 Chose Col Trawle Representative
 19 at Salem meetg of Goulds claim Broad Bay
 June 8 at Ipswich Sworn of the Peace
 9 came home
 12 at W Browne's
 19 at Brown's Edq^r.¹⁰ Beverly
 20 took salt Wat^r.
 24 Mowd P M Meadow
 Winter Wheat in Blossom 25th. June
 30. Worms in My meadow, We have a new Species
 of Worms about the Bigness of the Other, but full of
 Bristles on all part of their Body their Leggs Different!
 July 3 still in Bloom, large Ears
 26 A greate number of Meadow Worms appear in
 Cross, Street & meadow.
 27 I Saw Vast Numbers of them on the board fence
 street &c These are the same species of Worms as were
 so numerous In June A D 1743. They have 6 pr Legs.
 viz 2 prs. close behind their neck, & 4 pr abaft, & at ye
 10 Wm. Browne of Folly Hill fame.

hinder end two sharp Spears of Seeming horn. They draw up their hind pts and by these Spears throw their Whole body forward, they are Striped of a greenish yallow Smooth, Have large Eyes Some thing like that of a Fly of various Colours, Veind like Marble

July 2^d 1762 On the first My Daught^t Hannah Married to Capt Rich^d Reed.

4 The boy cut up my Wheat

5. Trustees of Beach, met. & agreed to give for Labourers 4/8 P Day they finding them Selves everything & to work from 6 to 6— offered to Teams. 16/. P D. for 4 oxen & Driver with all Carts Drags Chains & other materials for the work. & find themselves, this they then refund Demand^g. 20/ P D ., but on y^e 9 Day of July. they appointed G NewMarsh to take the oversight of the Work and Agreed to pay him

7. Wheat near out of Blossom from mould begin.

12 Plowd & Sav'd y^e Indian Corn

17 planted early Cabbage for Late Heads; 18 Soaked in

19 Began to hall Rocks to y^e Beach; 20 D^o; 21 D^o; 22. 23. 24 Same

26 At Ipswich with M^r Burnham;
set out for R: Island

28 Pray'd, &c

29 Court. Sessions by Adjournm^t.

Aug^t 12 1762 Some little Harvest of Barly & Flax & Wheat Indian Corn that has Stood it to this is now going Rowls up, & in Languish^g State 20th May / June 2^d. 22 June July 12. 18 D^o. 25th. D^o. 30th. are all the Rains we have had of Any Consequence this Summer Except a little Rain on y^e 10. June 15 d^o 18 d^o. 30th. Small Sprinkling , Dust hardly laid, The prospect is Shocking for Man & Beast and we are ready to Say all is against us — What Shall we do? Do, Several things — may be done, as the Happy fruit of this droug^{ht} as Reformation of Our Manners, of our Husbandry in the many branches, in the Cultivating those Grains & Grasses that will best endure those droughts. Winter Wheat properly Managed Wood I am persuaded Stand it Well St Faim & Lucern & Sever other Grasses will Stand it having Tap Roots that go greate Lengths

23. Moderate news of Reduct. of Havan.^a
 Sep 15 1762 set out for Windham at Newbury
 16 at Littlefields
 17 Falmouth
 18 D°. & went to Windham
 19 D°. 20 D° 21 Do.
 22 Ordination
 23 to Falmouth
 24 at Capt Wayts Island
 25 Falm°. 26 D°. 27 D°.
 28 Set out for home, at Kimballs
 29 at Portsmouth
 30 to Newbury Court I wounded my Legg at Windham & Rode in greate pain all the way
 Oct 1 1762 at Newbury Court Very Lame &c
 2 arived home in the Chaise in Bad Order with my two Leggs &c
 3 Very Lame; 4 Same 5 D°. 6th. d°. 7 d°
 8 d° 9 d° but growing better Fast
 10 Better
 22. Ellingwood Tried for Murther
 25. Hadly taken Sick and has Continued so to y^e End of the month
 Nov. 5, 1762. Hadly Still sick & like to Die
 6. Hadly Very Ill
 11. Hadly Stil very Bad.
 12. Raised my shomaker & Barber Shop . . . from y^e Ground
 13. Hadly Still Sick
 21. Hadly & John yet Sick
 30. Train'd
 Dec. 1, 1762. Training
 2. Judge Probate here
 8. Hadly stil sick, with his Family
 20. Began to Make Rates being delayed by Boden & our sick men Cows Herbage 1762
 Joseph Proctor 1 Mid. Dr 2
 Robert Wallis 1 Mid. pd. order 2
 Vickery 1 Neck ord pd.
 John Picket 1 up Order Dr. 1
 Phe Rich 1 upp Ord. Dr 1

Sam ¹ Reed 1 upper ord ^{r.} pd	1
Maj Galason 1 middle ord ^{r.} Dr. 2	
Joseph Rhoads 1 Mid. order Dr. 2	
Joseph Bigsby 1 upper Dr.	
W ^m . Neck 1 upper Dr.	
My Black Cow upper p ^d	order 1
W ^m Williams 1 up. Dr.	1
S Chapman	mid Dr. 21/.
	0.1

W^m Hayden 1 upper 19 June 1762
 Deed dated sep 23. 1754
 mar 16 — Rec'd of Goudy. 18.5

Harry 2/. } y^e Bill
 Goudy 2/. }
 Bowen 4/.

We are now thro the Divine Goodness Arived to the Threshold of a new year, When I look back on the Various affairs and occurrances of the past year. I find Myself in the pleasant Month of May delivered from One of the greatest of Evils. and Admitted to One of greatest Goods!

Jan 1 1765 This Evening Maried Mr. Sam¹ Stevens to Elizabeth Broughton, and Capt Curtis's Wife Died

4 John Boden came here from Natick near 40 miles. in about 14 ho On Rackets greate part of the way. Wounded My leg 3^d day

5 Leg lame, on Cradle!

8 Note Capt Curtis's Wife was Interrd in the New Mode i. e. with out Mourning — to the Approbation & apploss of all persons who Attended. viz the principal Gent of the Town & Many Others! and tis hopd this Mode will prevail in Town to the Saving of Thousands P Anum

- 9 Jn^o Boden goes home
- 10 Dea Russell ariv'd last night.
- 11 Deacon Russell went home
- 12 Meat 35/
- 17 Greate market for pork yesterday & to Day from 4^d. to 3^d. P
- 20 Mad^m Grant died 19th. Sudden
- 22 Park & adams sat — with Dea
- 27 my Old pump Froze

29 Harbour froze and Jacksons house Chimny on fire!
 at 2 A M
 30 Plagud with the Gang
 31 Town House Declines
 Feb 1 1765 Dea Russel here.
 6 Dⁿ. Russell went home
 9 Dⁿ. Pearce Wife Buried new mode
 13 W^m Boden here
 14 W^m Boden gon home
 16 Croft Interrd
 21 Humphry Din'd here
 26 Bourn, Weeks & Co
 27 Deacon here
 28 Deacon Russell gon home
 Mar 5 Benja Whitney here
 5 released Haskals House.
 7 At Taplys Meet^g.
 8 Russell left morn^g
 12 Deaⁿ went home
 14 prison Com^{tee} at Salem — Lecture old meetg.
 17 at N Meet^g
 18 Town Meet^g & long tryal Mills Flagg
 20 Went to Cambridge.
 21 Went from Cam. to Boston & home to Dinner.
 26 Went to Court at Ipswich
 27, 28, 29 & 30 At Court then came home
 April 4 Dea Russell
 6 At Salem
 7 At Lyn. Broad Bay meet^g
 11 Dea went home
 15 This Day I am 67 years old! The Events of *last year* were remarkable The events of the Coming year lye out of Sight This Ignorance of Future events are kindly given by the wise Governor of y^e world that Hope & Expect may bouy up the human mine — but what can be reasonably expected by a man of 67. but Pain, Sorrow & Death
 17 Nancey came to live here —
 22 At Salem to meet my wife Baulkd
 25 Martin Tho Much Angry. little reader
 30 John Boden came Dea Russell Gone

May 10 At Lyn Bridge News *Domineca* Sunk off
Equatre

14 Lyn Bridge
20, Bridge began to work
23 At Lyn Bridge
27 At Lyn Bridge
29 Electⁿ.
31 Lyn Bridge
June 3 Sold workd & Goods for y^e Creditors
4 At Bridge Din'd at Martins &c
7 At Bridge
8 W^m Boden & wife & *Lydia* came
18 At Sup^r Court Ipsw.
24. at the Bridge agreed with Gould
27. at Bridge & Charlston
28. Wight began to work at ffarm Self & hands —
29. Wight workd with 5 hands
30. Mother Bowry Was Buried 28 'tis Said She was
104 years old a Mere Child and for want of the use of
the first Principle in Nature (Self preservation) She fell
into the fire, and being alone was burnt to death.

July 4. went to Salem , to Flints
Hemp Mill & to Bridge —
5. at Bridge made way Wider
8. G Stacey abscond
9. at Salem Court
16. Began to make Cheese at Farm!
31. Shingled the No: side of Barn at Farm:
Aug^t Shingled South Side Barn
2. My pares Stoln, by Whome.
4. Bass preach'd.¹¹
9. Yesterday a Lad fell from head of a mast Dashd
out his Brains Mason Make Cheese in 2 Days —

17. Barker asks 6/ for Butter!
23. Church Clock set going new.
26. Batman made wall on Lot
26. A Bandito appeard in the streets in Boston abt.
evening and in Regular March proceeded to M^r Storers
House & there Ravaged disported & ruined good p^t of his

¹¹ Rev. Edward Bass of Newburyport, first Bishop of the
Episcopal Church in Massachusetts and Rhode Island.

House & furniture thence Marchd to Cap^t Hollowells where they entered brake his windows distroyed his Rich Furniture to a large Amt. about 8 or 9 they, Raised in Spirits by the Effluvia of Hollowells Wine March^d thro the streets to y^e North & Entered, y^e Mansion of the Hon^{ble} Le^{ut} Gov^r Hutchenson Good man! and like Devils, did I Say, nay worse than Devils, distroy^d his House and Rob^d him of £900 Sterl in Specie — destroyed the windows Partitions — Paintings Hanging in short every thing that could be ruin'd; at this work of Iniquity they were tis Said 5 Hours from 8 to 1 A M . This Mobb Consisted tis Said of a parcel of Taylers Barbers & other of the such Effeminate Gent^y. Attended by Some of your North End Raggamuffins with their Saws Axes & other proper Instruments of Distraction! When I viewd the Ruins I could not think that so much work could be done by 20 skillfull men in 50 hours — all in the Dark! Note that all the While this Villiny was perprtrating in the view of the word not a word Spoken or act done to Oppose it. Surely 12 Co^{ms} of Malitia well Armd & prepared Courageous fellows & officers On a Training Day, One would think they would Drive the D—l all these brave fellows were Either engaged in the Mob, Spectators or at home about their Common Occations will it be belived that the Greate Town of Boston So famous for their Loyalty and good Government, Should Suffer a Contemptable Mobb to give Law in so Audations a Manner for 5 or 6 hours together & in public streets Tell it not in London nor publish it at y^e Court of Greate Britain least the Government there should propounce their Male Contents & Saddle them with a Standing Rigement. God forbid!

Sept 3 Work'd on H ways Dea came
 9 Jn^o Boden gon East H ways
 11 H ways Joy at Change ministry at home Bells
 R. at Boston
 12 Workd 2 Teams & divers Hands
 14 Fortune & Cato on Gutter Boden came home
 17. M^r. Prince's James died aged 22 m^o.
 24 Went to Newbury Court.

(To be Continued)

BOOK REVIEWS

SINCERELY, WILLIS WAYDE. By John P. Marquand. 1955, 511 pp., octavo, cloth, Boston: Little, Brown and Company. Price, \$3.95.

This latest novel by Mr. Marquand is a brilliant character study of a big shot American business man who has compromised his way to the top. Willis Wayde is a tycoon who had worked his way up from the ranks by modelling himself on an associate a little higher up and using this as a stepping-stone. He has the business acumen to go higher and higher in various companies and then on reaching the presidency of one small company to combine with others always growing bigger and bigger. His deals are all for the benefit of himself or the company *per se* without regard for friends. He thinks that he is loyal to those who have helped him, but this is only his viewpoint. Mr. Marquand has shown the Harcourt family in a very sympathetic light. This family portrays the type who has for generations run the big industry in a small town and who looks after and knows its employees. Willis Wayde can never quite acquire or reach their complete sincerity and social responsibility. For one who likes interesting fiction this will hold one's interest.

HAWTHORNE A CRITICAL STUDY. By Hyatt H. Waggoner. 1955, 268 pp., octavo, cloth. Cambridge, Mass., The Belknap Press of Harvard University Press. Price, \$4.75.

This study of Hawthorne is an explanation of the type of man he was as shown by his life and writings. Mr. Waggoner has given a detailed account of the imagery, symbolism, correlation and meaning of the sketches and novels. Hawthorne was a person of many paradoxes as Mr. Waggoner clearly states. "These are only a few of the paradoxes that emerge when we contemplate the man who made an 'ideal' marriage, yet who in his last miserable years found himself utterly alone in the midst of loving wife and children; who was simple in his tastes and requirements, yet contented nowhere; who longed all his life for a home, yet discovered reasons for rejecting every home he found or made; who took part in Brook Farm utopianism, yet despised reformers; who considered his Christian faith unshakable, yet never went to church, disliked theological writings, and usually was repelled by preachers of the gospel." Hawthorne as one can see from reading this book was a person of many facets and one has to study him from many angles.

Mr. Waggoner has clearly presented the facts and has evaluated them from the viewpoint of today. All Hawthorne students and enthusiasts will want to read this book.

**ALLEN GENEALOGY; A BRIEF HISTORY OF LEWIS ALLEN
(Of Fisher's Island and New London, Conn.) AND
HIS DESCENDANTS FROM 1699 TO 1954.** By Mary
Allen Phinney. 1954, 207 pp., octavo, cloth, illus.,
ports. Rutland, Vt., The Tuttle Publishing
Company, Inc.

This genealogy of the Allen family has full biographies of many of the descendants of Lewis Allen which add immeasurably to this type of book. The genealogy is as complete as Miss Phinney was able to collect up to the time of publication. This is her third book concerning the Allens. She also has one published concerning the Phinney family. This volume has an index and is recommended to all genealogical libraries.

THE PINE TREE COINAGE OF MASSACHUSETTS. By
Sydney P. Noe. 1952, 48 pp., octavo, paper, illus.
New York, The American Numismatic Society.
Price, \$3.00.

This monograph of the American Numismatic Society contains a chronological history of the Pine Tree coinage, accounts of finding "hoards" of them and a brief account of how they were used as witch pieces. "In 'Descriptive notes' the form of the inscription is given, together with distinguishing characteristics of each die." There are good illustrations.

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TIMOTHY DEXTER'S MANSION IN NEWBURYPORT, 1810

From a print in possession of The Essex Institute and American Antiquarian Society, Worcester

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TIMOTHY DEXTER MANSION PRINTS

BY CLARENCE S. BRIGHAM

One of the most interesting of early Essex County engravings is the large "View of the Mansion of the late Lord Timothy Dexter in High Street, Newbury port, 1810." There are at least four variations of this print, and the American Antiquarian Society has all of them, three having been recently acquired. The earliest is an aquatint, size 25 inches wide by 13 $\frac{3}{8}$ high, which is credited by Stauffer to John Rubens Smith, one of the most noteworthy of early American artists. Smith worked as an engraver at Boston from 1809 to 1816. Since the aquatint carries the date 1810, and portrayed the Mansion which was nearly destroyed by the gale of September, 1815, it presumably was published in 1810, or shortly afterwards. Smith was making aquatints in Boston from 1810 to 1812. Two Boston print experts believe that the aquatint is contemporaneous. It bears no name of artist or engraver. Others who have examined the print believe that the paper is of later date than the year 1810. If so, it could have been a reprint. The inscription on the print refers to Timothy Dexter's own account of his life which he published in 1802 under the title of "A Pickle for the Knowing Ones." Dexter died in 1806. J. R. Smith, after removing from Boston, continued as an engraver until his death in 1849.

The other three prints of the Dexter Mansion were lithographs, and were published probably in the 1850's. One is signed "J. H. Bufford's Lith." and is 24 $\frac{1}{2}$ inches wide by 14 $\frac{3}{4}$ high. It is an obvious and faithful copy of the earlier aquatint. Below the print is a reference to the *Life of Timothy Dexter* by Samuel L. Knapp, published

at Newburyport by John G. Tilton. The first edition of this book was printed in 1848. Therefore Bufford's print must have been issued between 1848 and 1854, when the publisher admitted a partner and removed to Boston in 1856.

Another lithograph appeared about the same time, signed "B. W. Thayer Lith. Boston." Below the print is a reference to Knapp's *Life of Dexter*, "Published at Newburyport by John G. Tilton, Boston by John G. Tilton & Co. 326 Washington Street." Underneath is the imprint of "Boston, sold by Fetridge & Co. 3 & 5 State St. & 72 & 74 Washington St." According to these addresses, as given in the Boston Directory, this lithograph must have been issued in 1855. It is 24 $\frac{7}{8}$ inches wide by 17 inches high, and is copied from the early aquatint, differing considerably from the Bufford lithograph. A variety of the Bufford lithograph is not signed by Bufford, but is identical otherwise to the smallest detail. This print carries below the reference to Knapp's *Life of Dexter* as published "G[sic] J E. Tilton & Company 161 Washington Street Boston." This was the address of the Tilton firm beginning with 1859. Therefore the print must have been issued in 1859 or soon after. All of these prints are rare.¹

1 The Essex Institute owns three of these Dexter mansion prints.

PAUPER AUCTIONS: THE "NEW ENGLAND METHOD" OF PUBLIC POOR RELIEF

BY BENJAMIN J. KLEBANER

I.

Public support of relief recipients had assumed two basic forms in the United States by the beginning of the nineteenth century. The newer one, almshouse care, was increasing in popularity. The other approach, outdoor relief, involved the care of the needy outside of institutions.¹ Of the variety of arrangements embraced under the latter category, probably the most picturesque — on the surface at least — was the system of auctioning the care of paupers to the lowest bidder.

Only a Hogarth could have done justice to the scene, a gathering of the town worthies, often at the village inn, generally after the annual town meeting, at which the qualities of each pauper were detailed with the same callousness as that shown in discussing the merits of a horse — or a slave. One New Hampshire antiquarian recalled the auctioneer's description of a pauper subject to epileptic fits:

"Here is Mr. _____; he is a strong, hearty, sound man, who can eat anything, and a good deal of it; how much do you bid?"²

To add to the festivity of the occasion (and to stimulate bidding) liquor was furnished at the expense of the town in some places. New Jersey banned the giving or selling of liquor at auctions in 1797, but specifically exempted auctions conducted by any civil officer.³

What could be more logical, at a time when many public offices were being auctioned, than that the welfare function of the community should also go on the block? The advantages of auctioning the poor were obvious — perhaps too much so. Two New York towns, Cazenovia and Chazy, boasted of a great savings — one-third and two-thirds of previous expenses, respectively. For, as the supervisor of Chazy observed, "none except those that are objects of charity, will apply to the town for assistance, and be exposed for sale, and liable to labor."⁴ Friends of the bid-off

system claimed an influential supporter in New Hampshire's Governor Plumer, who thought that the vendue was "the most eligible and cheapest method" for rural areas. By putting the poor with private families, they would be well cared for, and industry would be insisted on.⁵

Many persons, however, were alive to the barbarity and inhumanity of the system.⁶ Often the successful bidder was himself on the verge of requiring public assistance.⁷ A premium was placed on meanness and avarice; with what horrible consequences to the unfortunate pauper, can only be imagined, when he was placed in the hands of "a man of great faith in the ability of paupers to live on almost nothing, to suffer almost everything, and to be contented with almost anything."⁸ In the scathing words of a committee of the board of supervisors of Onandaga County, New York,⁹ the successful bidder learned too late that:

he has been duped by his own cupidity overreached by the chicancy of others and that the pitiful reward of his unhallowed competition will warrant no better support to the pauper the miserable subject of the inhuman trade than the thin potations and meagre diet usually provided for the guests of a pesthouse.

II.

To salve the conscience of the community, the overseers might be expected to visit the poor regularly and see to it that they were treated well, as was the case in New Shoreham, Rhode Island. Or, as in Burrillville, Rhode Island, the bidder might have to give security that he would keep the poor "in a christianlike manner."¹⁰

Another factor which mitigated the harshness of the system was that it was not used exclusively, even where it prevailed. In New Hampshire, for example, where vendue was the usual mode of caring for the poor, persons needing only occasional aid would be granted it, in amounts depending on the discretion of the overseers. Thus, persons only partly supported at the expense of the town received \$100 of the \$295 spent on the poor by Hampton in 1824. In Holderness (1830) Widow Stewart who "about supports herself" received \$1.56, James Curry, who though suffering

from "want of faculty" had to provide for a wife and three children, got \$5.55 in relief, and industrious, but infirm, Mr. Wiggin was given the "little assistance" he needed for his family. Even cases requiring full assistance were sometimes not auctioned. Most of Andover's paupers were put on the block, but some old people were placed out by contract; in Alstead and Concord, on the other hand, most of the poor were contracted for rather than auctioned. Alton spent \$20 in furnishing Widow Davis with a house and wood (1820), and two years later the town voted to give Daniel Wentworth a dollar a week to care for his mother. Similarly, Grafton accepted Mary Casewell's offer to keep her mother for fifty-eight cents a week (1824), while Moses Hunt of Bath was given \$15 for the support of his son (1829). Sometimes, as at Gilford in 1818 and Grafton in 1828, it was left up to the selectmen to decide which of the poor were to be vendued, and which to be disposed of otherwise.¹¹ Lewiston, Maine, not infrequently reconsidered the vote to auction all the poor, as regarded certain paupers, and decided at the town meeting to let the overseers of the poor provide for them.¹²

Lee, Massachusetts, had sold the care of Marcy Backus to Samuel Porter for 5s.9d (over ninety cents) per week, but the very next month, it was noted: "Marcy Backus being uneasy with living at Samuel Porters [the town] voted that the Selectmen provide for her." Humanity triumphed again in the case of William James, a hapless physician who was totally disabled by a cut from an axe. A petition by the citizenry to the overseers of the poor of Staunton, Virginia, requested that "in this singularly hard Instance" the usual procedure of auctioning the pauper be omitted, and he be given a reasonable amount of help; the overseers acceded.¹³

Those with ties of family or friends would sometimes be shown consideration. North Bridgewater, Massachusetts, voted (1822) to "put out at public auction or private sale" only those persons who could not find a place with a friend, or who had no homes, a procedure which was also followed in Gloucester, Rhode Island.¹⁴ It should be borne in mind, too, that a pauper might be bid off to his mother, child or some other relative.¹⁵

Though the system of auctioning the poor was not an

unmitigated evil in some places at some times, yet it was fundamentally and generally a cruel one. Perhaps no community pursued the goal of economical support of the poor with such great industry as did West Greenwich, Rhode Island. Here until 1809, most paupers were let out on a monthly basis! During 1790, for example, unfortunate William Hines found himself in January at Henry Matteson's place, in February at Eleazar Burlinggame's, in March at Jonathan Bennett's, in May at Daniel Howard's, in October at Thomas Tillinghast's, and in November again at Matteson's. No auction had taken place in April, July and September. His weekly cost to the town varied from two shillings (thirty-three cents) in March, to 5s.10d. (ninety-seven cents) in November.¹⁶ Andover, New Hampshire, was using quarterly bids in 1797, with the result that Widow Elkins lodged with four different persons during the year, while Widow Sibley enjoyed the hospitality of four different housekeepers in Fremont (1796).¹⁷

Another of the distressing aspects of the bid-off system was the break-up of families which it frequently entailed. Thus in March, 1825, Manchester, New Hampshire, in accordance with a vote of the town, put Majory Boyes and her four children in five different homes.¹⁸

III.

A prime consideration in bidding on a pauper was the amount of labor which could be expected from him. The lowest bidder understood that in return for the maintenance he gave the town charge, he could make use of the pauper's labor power.¹⁹ In the words of the Supreme Court of Massachusetts (1822):

A town has undoubtedly a right to the services of a pauper to aid in his support. So has any person who may have become liable for his support by virtue of a contract with the town.²⁰

We find then such instances as Joshua Dix being taken (in 1814) for five cents a week, in Waltham, Massachusetts; John Williams being "Bid Down" to \$7 a year by Doctor Charles Powers in Shapleigh, Maine (1801); Ishmael Nichols of West Greenwich, Rhode Island, taking

Christiana Lampher for one dollar for the year 1801; and Pauline Smith of Manchester, New Hampshire, going at a cost to the town of \$8 (1821).²¹ Sometimes the town would just break even, and not have to pay anything at all for a pauper.²²

Cases occurred where premiums would be paid to a town for the privilege of using a pauper's labor. Thus Bristol, New Hampshire, received \$25 for Elijah Truell (1828) and \$15 for his brother Samuel; both were *non compos mentis*. Two years later, Samuel cost the town \$4.50 for the year, but Elijah's labor yielded \$40. Richmond, New Hampshire, was given an unusually large amount for a pauper in 1812: \$1.06 a week for John Whitcher. Fremont, New Hampshire, had a profitable pauper in the person of insane Ephraim Abbot. He cost the town \$79.41 in 1820-1821, but in 1822 he yielded the town two and half cents a week, and in 1823, eighty cents a week. A decade later a dollar a week was being paid for him, and the successful bidder agreed that "in case of sickness or any disability . . . the Selectmen are to be notified before any extra expenses will be allowed or his wages stopped." On the same conditions, Abbot sold for a return of \$1.21 a week in 1834, \$1.14 a week in 1835 and \$1.20 a week in 1836. This continued until 1852 (from 1839 on, though the auction was replaced by "proposals" for keeping Abbot each year) when his brother-in-law was appointed his guardian. The money which the town had received for the pauper's labor was demanded by his guardian on his behalf, and the case reached the Supreme Court of the state. There this claim was rejected on the ground that just as a pauper was not bound by an implied contract to repay the town, if he should subsequently be able to do so, so "any benefit the town may derive from his [pauper's] labor belongs to them, as incident to the relation of a pauper on the town."²³

Samuel Truell, mentioned earlier, was not the only pauper who, once a source of revenue to the town, became a source of expense. Bridgewater, New Hampshire, received from one cent to twelve and a half cents a week for Elizabeth Craig during the years 1831 through 1835; but in 1836 she cost the town twenty-nine cents a week. Mary

Wares, to take another example, appeared on the pauper list of Fitchburg, Massachusetts, for the first time in 1790, when she cost the town 27s. (\$4.50) for the year. In 1792, her expense was as much as £3/16s (\$11); but in 1797 and 1798, she brought 3d. a week to the town. Again in 1799, she was bid off at a cost of 6d. per week, and in 1800 her cost was 5d. per week. Nothing was paid for her in 1801, and in 1802 the town received £2/2s for her services for the year. But from 1803 until her death (around 1817) she was a net expense, in some years merely nominal sums being paid for her keep, and in later years \$30 and more.²⁴

IV.

These paupers who fetched a premium were presumably mentally or physically defective persons, who were town wards for as long as they lived. Some, however, might have been in a situation similar to that of Parker Marshall, a lazy fellow inclined to drinking, the father of six youngsters. In 1824, he and his family were sold for \$51.42 for the year. This may have proved a chastening experience for him; the next year the selectmen of Hancock, New Hampshire, found that his habits had improved "in some measure," and he was supporting himself.²⁵

The contracts that Durham, New Hampshire made with the successful bidders specified that in the event the paupers' inability to gain a livelihood was "so remov'd as that they may be able or wish to procure their own subsistence," the selectmen might grant the paupers' request, and leave them to shift for themselves. Similarly in Bridgewater the care of Polly Crawford and her son were bid off for thirteen cents per week with the proviso that "she is to have the Liberty of Supporting her Self if She will."²⁶

Generally the persons vendued were already chargeable to the town. But there are instances on record where an anticipated applicant was auctioned, as in Bath, New Hampshire (1824), when Maxi Heseltine and family were bid off for \$20, and it was specified that if Heseltine "should not call on the town for assistance" the bidder was not to receive anything; at the same auction Mrs. Sweetzer was bid

off for \$43, on the same condition. Mrs. Woodbury of Canaan, New Hampshire, went for thirty-eight cents a week (1815), "when she makes application for assistance from the town."²⁷

Some localities with a mixed system probably utilized the vendue as a sort of punishment. Northampton, Massachusetts, decided (1802) to provide for those who had become poor because of illness or misfortune, "in the usual manner among their friends & Connections where everything comfortable and necessary may be provided for them at the expense of the Town," while those impoverished by their vices were to be kept at the lowest rate, at least two miles from the center of the town. The selectmen of Gilmanton, New Hampshire, were directed (1815) to auction those poor who brought themselves or their families to want by intemperance "or other open vices." At the same time they were *authorized* to auction any other paupers, as they thought proper. This practice continued for some years; the 1821 instructions to the selectmen were to "vendue such of the poor as in their opinion would be proper and best."²⁸

V.

Generally the poor were struck off individually, or all went to the house of the lowest bidder. Sometimes they were sold in "lots" of unrelated persons. Thus at North Providence (1810), five paupers went to Captain Smith, two to William Hopkins, and two to Elisha Brown; Gilmanton, New Hampshire, sold its poor in four lots (1829), while the annual town meeting of Baldwin, Maine, ordered (1843) that the poor "be disposed of in parcels to the lowest bidders."²⁹ The paupers of Cumberland, Rhode Island, were boarded separately until 1807, when Absalom Ballou took all of the town's poor for \$600 (except the Gould children, who were left with their parents), he being the lowest bidder and "a suitable person to maintain the poor." The town reverted to the old system of venduing each pauper separately in 1810, but the next year again made a contract with one man. Tiverton and Scituate, Rhode Island, witnessed similar vacillation of policy.³⁰ Warren, to take a Maine example, found itself

with a large pauper list, as an aftermath of the War of 1812 and the policy of giving home relief. The town adopted the practice of letting out all the poor on contract (1821), only to go back to the former practice in the 1840's, and, we are told, another great increase in poor expenditures occurred.³¹

Under a single contractor arrangement, just as under an individual pauper vendue, the poor were expected to work for the low bidder. Benjamin Coffin was "entitled to the labour of sd paupers," when he was given \$371 (1827) by Alton, New Hampshire, for caring for them. Candia, New Hampshire, which gave its poor home relief before 1821, found poor expenditures cut almost in half when it adopted the lowest contractor system. Most of the paupers preferred to provide for themselves rather than to be subjected to "strict discipline in one house." Shades of the poorhouse system! The good people of Andover, in the next county, alarmed over the great increase in pauperism in the town, decided on a set of rules:

calculated to punish Sloth and indolence [by starving the culprit] correct vice and immorality established industry, teach economy and prudence encourage virtue and morality and establish at the same time the means of support on the most Just and equinomical principles So that he who will not work may not eat.

These rules were to be enforced by the contractor who took all the poor on the lowest bid basis.³² Indeed, the difference between this sort of contractor arrangement, and the system whereby the care of the poor at a town farm, was given to one accepting the lowest price per pauper or the smallest lump sum, lay solely in the fact that in the latter case the house for the poor belonged to the town, whereas in the former, it belonged to the contractor.³³

Venturesome entrepreneurs were to be found, like Joseph Penniman of Paxton, Massachusetts, who agreed to take "all the Paupers belonging to sd Town together with all which may legally come in, in the course of the year coming" for \$489 in 1828, and \$387 in 1829. The liability of such an open-end contract to disastrous consequences to the bidder (and consequently to the poor) is obvious, but at least

one instance is known where a contractor was compensated for the loss he suffered in supporting the town poor: Jeremiah Durgin received \$125 from Limerick, Maine, in 1838, in addition to the \$340 for which he had originally bargained.³⁴

Another type of agreement provided that a definite number of poor were to be cared for at the stipulated price, as when the seven paupers of Tewksbury, New Jersey, were taken for \$400 (1817). Sometimes the contractor received a fixed amount per pauper — Howell Township, New Jersey, for instance, accepted a bid of \$1.50 a week per person (1840).³⁵ Howell reserved the right to maintain whichever poor it cared to, at their own homes. This would be done when the cost of home relief was less than the cost at the contractor's and of course benefited the town rather than the contractor. Some open-end contractors found it financially attractive to give home relief. Deerfield, Massachusetts, paid \$475 a year for the care of its poor, for most of whom the contractor saw fit to give small allowances at their dwellings. The contractor of Durham, New Hampshire, likewise gave some outside assistance.³⁶

VI.

Auctioning the care of paupers to the lowest bidder antedated the Revolution, but came into widespread favor only later,³⁷ perhaps as communities were confronted with increasing burdens of dependency. While the system originated in New England, and probably was used there more extensively than in any other region,³⁸ the blessings of the vendue system were enjoyed by localities in many different places at one time or another. Among the Atlantic States, only in Maryland and Delaware, has the author been unable to find allusions to the use of this arrangement. The 1799 poor law of the Northwest Territory specifically authorized the auction. In Illinois the practice continued even after the law dropped its reference to the vendue (1827). Missouri localities still employed the vendue in the 1850's and subsequently.³⁹

Defenders of the institution of slavery who compared the treatment given slaves in the South, with that given paupers

in abolitionist New England, conveniently overlooked the fact that the South too used the vendue system. In Virginia, Giles County found (1829) that under the lowest bid system, the poor were not taken care of, and in some other cases the overseers of the poor were being imposed on; a similar story was related in Halifax County. North Carolina, made very extensive use of the system. Chester and Newberry were among the South Carolina districts auctioning the poor. Some Georgia counties also gave the care of the poor to the lowest bidder.⁴⁰

The device of auctioning paupers had probably passed the peak of its popularity by 1834, when Indiana became the first state to ban the practice by law. Maine, in an 1847 law, prohibited what had hitherto been the prevalent mode of supporting the poor. New York followed suit the very next year (despite this, we read of auctions as late as 1859), while North Carolina, the only other Atlantic state to legislate on the subject, waited until 1877.⁴¹ Chief Justice Ewing of New Jersey pronounced venduing contrary to "the sound principles, real design, and generous provision" of the poor laws (1825). In Pennsylvania, venduing the poor was an indictable offense, after the overseers of Union Township (Mifflin County) were sentenced sometime before 1826 for the practice, but Dorothea Dix reported its use in many places in 1845.⁴² In 1850, nine of the thirty-one towns in Rhode Island were still auctioning their poor. Danbury, Connecticut, stopped doing so only in 1859. The 1860 town meeting of Danville, New Hampshire, featured a vendue of paupers. Although the auction had not entirely disappeared by the 1850's, it had certainly lost its former importance.⁴³ Other methods had supplanted this picturesque procedure.

FOOTNOTES

1 See the author's doctoral dissertation, "Public Poor Relief in America", ch. II, III (Columbia University, 1952). Pauper auctions are called the "New England method" in New York State Assembly, *Journal* 1824, appendix B, p. 33, hereafter referred to as Yates.

2 Albert Smith, *History of the Town of Peterborough* (Boston, 1876), p. 179. Cf. Albert Deutsch, *The Mentally Ill in America* (New York: Columbia University Press, 1946), pp. 117-18.

3 On liquor, see Albert Smith, *op cit.*, p. 179; Seth Chandler, *History of the Town of Shirley, Massachusetts* (Shirley, 1883), p. 142; George Faber Clark, *History of the Town of Norton, Bristol County, Massachusetts* (Boston, 1859), p. 365; Levi Leonard, *History of Dublin, N. H.* (Boston, 1855), pp. 26-27. N. J. Acts . . . c. 629. The law was not repealed until 1934, c. 32.

4 Yates, pp. 11, 33. Other comments on the vendue system appear on pp. 25, 47.

5 *Portsmouth Journal*, June 9, 1827, article on pauperism signed "Cincinattus," reprinted in *Niles' Weekly Register*, XXXII (1827), 312, where the authorship is stated to be Governor Plummer's. Joseph B. Felt, the Salem historian, on the other hand, could find no other objection to venduing than that "the disorderly among the poor often [are] thrown into hands unfitted to hold a proper restraint upon them." [*History of Ipswich, Essex and Hamilton* (Cambridge, 1834), p. 67].

6 Dorothea L. Dix, *Memorial to the Legislature of Massachusetts*, 1843, reprinted in *Old South Leaflets*, VI, no. 18 (Boston [ND]), pp. 22-23. "Barbarous" was the epithet used by the grand jury of Chester District, South Carolina, to describe the system (1842). [Quoted in Richard B. Morris, "White Bondage in Ante-Bellum South Carolina," *South Carolina Historical and Genealogical Magazine* XLIX (1948), 199]. No attention was paid by Maine's towns to the lowest bidder's "disposition or capability . . . to provide for their paupers' wants in a suitable manner." [Maine Legislature, House Documents, 1835, no. 20, p. 5]. To Chief Justice Kirkpatrick of New Jersey, selling the poor was "in the very face of all the laws of decency and humanity . . ." [Board et al v. Cronk (1822), 6 N. J. Law Reports (2nd ed.), 143, 148.] Samuel Church, *Historical Address . . . Salisbury* (New Haven, 1842), p. 70. Connecticut, *Documents* 1852, no. 1, pp. 18-19, for Governor Seymour's statement; see also Seymour's 1853 Message, pp. 13-14.

7 On this point Yates remarked that often the lowest bidder took on the care of a pauper as a means of avoiding that state himself: "Thus, he, and another miserable human being, barely subsist on what would hardly comfortably maintain himself alone — a species of economy much boasted of by some of our town officers and purchasers of paupers . . ." (p. 391) Hendrick B. Wright recalled that paupers "would be generally struck off to some mountaineer, living in a log hut, and the town contribution would sustain pauper and purchaser." [*Historical Sketches of Plymouth, Luzerne Co., Penn.* (Philadelphia [1873]), p. 264.]

8 S. H. Elliot, *A Look at Home; or Life in the Poor-House of New England . . .* A veritable, no fiction of life among the

lowly (new and revised ed.; New York, 1860), p. 35. Thomas R. Hazard, in his *Report on the Poor and Insane in Rhode Island* (Providence 1851), p. 87 (cited hereafter as Hazard) remarked that out of the vendue system "have grown some of the most dreadful abuses that have ever been perpetrated by man on his fellow man." His description of nightmarish conditions at Coventry, R. I., is on pp. 49-51. Henry Maurice Lisle, *Address delivered . . . in Roxbury . . .* (Boston, 1808), p. 15. David Thurston, *A Brief History of Winthrop* (Portland, 1855), p. 32. Hammond asserted (Yates, p. 77) that the poor "in many instances" were treated "more like beasts than like human beings." Dorothea Dix was told in Pennsylvania that some poor fared well, but in many other cases, especially among the old and helpless "neglect and suffering . . . were of frequent occurrence." [Memorial . . . to the Legislature of Pennsylvania . . . (Philadelphia, 1845), pp. 15-16.]

9 Onandaga County, N. Y. Board of Supervisors, Minutes November 24, 1826 (MS, labelled "Leger," County Court House, Syracuse).

10 Hazard, p. 36. The 1815 town meeting of Gilmanton passed a resolution stating that "no person shall bid off the keeping of said paupers, unless he is able to provide comfortably for them . . ." [Town Records, IV, March 4, 1815. (MS, N. H. Secretary of State, Concord).]

11 Yates, p. 92. Poor Returns of Various Towns (MS, New Hampshire Historical Society, Concord); Town Records, *passim* (MS., N. H. Secretary of State). Unless otherwise specified, subsequent N. H., references are to these Town Records. In Westfield, Mass., state paupers, instead of being auctioned, would be placed with whomever was willing to keep them for the amount the state gave, or the pauper himself would be given the sum at his home. [Massachusetts, House of Representatives, *Documents* 1833, no. 6, p. 89].

12 Lewiston, Me., Records I, April 1, 1833, and earlier (MS, City Hall). The town of Union, Mass., frequently instructed the selectmen to provide for certain paupers without putting them up at auction. [John Langdon Sibley, *History of the Town of Union*, (Boston, 1851), p. 272].

13 Lee, Mass., *Records of the Town . . . to A.D. 1801* (Lee, 1900), p. 89. MS, Staunton, 1796 (Duke University).

14 Bradford Kingman, *History of North Bridgewater . . .* (Boston, 1866), p. 345. Hazard, p. 37. Of the 21 persons on the poor list of Shrewsbury, N. J., in 1798, one pauper was given 30 bushels of grain, and another, £6 to keep her lame child for the year, while the rest were auctioned. [Town Poor Book, MS, State Archives, Trenton].

15 Thus in 1801, of the six paupers vendued in Howell Township, N. J., one was taken by his mother, and another by a relative [Minutes I], while several mothers cared for their own children in Kingwood Township, N. J. [Minutes, April 1820] (MS, Trenton). In Pasquotank County, N. C., a number of children were bid off to their mothers, and some other paupers went with relatives [Wardens, Minutes April 8, 1822, April 12, 1823, April 8, 1824, etc.]. "Joseph Screws, son of John Screws was bid off by his father . . . at six pounds," in Duplin County, N. C. [Wardens Minutes, July 22, 1800] (MS, State Archives, Raleigh). Fall River, Mass., town meeting minutes of August 20, 1816 has the entry "The Davis

family was bid off by Sally Davis for 120 Dols pr year." North Hempstead, N. Y., changed from individual to group vendue because under the former, the poor generally were placed with their "connexions." [Yates, p. 54.]

16 West Greenwich, R. I., Town Council Minutes, III, 1790. In May, 1805, the town decided to replace the old system with one of yearly auctions, but three months later, this was rescinded and the town council was empowered to let out the poor "To the lowest Bidder whom they shall judge to be of Competent Ability to support them in a Decent Manner," for a month, or a longer period, as the council judged most convenient. Finally, in December, 1809, Thomas Whitford's home was rented as the poorhouse, with the town instructing the visiting overseers to see that the poor were not "abused by Hunger or cold or cruelly." [Town Meeting Book, 1809 (MS, State Archives, Providence)]. For a Vermont example of frequent changes in the person caring for the pauper, see Lorenzo D'Agostino, *History of Public Welfare in Vermont* (Washington: Catholic University of America Press, 1948), p. 98.

17 Edgecomb County, N. C., on the other hand, secured legislative authorization to let out its poor for a three-year term. [N. C., 1799, c. 45.]

18 Manchester Historic Association, *Collections XI* (Manchester, 1909), 218. In Baldwin, Me., to cite another example, Benjamin Brown took John Rowe, while Rowe's wife and children were bid off to Jonathan Sanborn. The town got \$2.25 a month for John, but his family cost it \$2 a week. (Baldwin Town Records, November 10, 1817.) (MS, Maine Historical Society, Portland.)

19 An agreement made by Bridgewater, N. H., read: "Those who take any of the town's poor are entitled to their reasonable services [and] they are to provide them suitable meats, drinks, lodging and nursing if they should be sick." [Town Records, II, March, 1830]. Similarly, Margaret Dearwell agreed to keep Sarah Dodge for 50 cents a week "In consideration of said Sarah being of some service to me." [Bridgewater Township, N. J., Minutes, April 24, 1826]. In North Providence, R. I. it was specified that the successful bidder was "to have the benefit of what labour they [paupers] or any of them shall do within the said term." [Town Meeting Record, June 8, 1809, and June 4, 1810]. Other references for this point include, e.g., Whitehead, *op. cit.*, p. 396; Ebenezer Alden, *History of Randolph* [Mass.] . . . [a scrapbook in the Massachusetts State Library, originally in the *Randolph Transcript*, November 21, 1857].

20 *Wilson vs. Church et al.*, 18 Mass., Reports, 23, 26.

21 Waltham Selectmen, "Book of Record," May 2, 1814. Shapleigh Town Records, March 9, 1801. West Greenwich, R. I., Town Council Minutes, November 24, 1800. Manchester Historic Association, *Collections* (Manchester, 1909) XI, 116.

22 Deranged Hannah Carlton was sold for "a little more than enough to clothe her." [Rindge, N. H., Poor Return 1830]. Bridgewater, N. H., Town Records, II, March, 1826, 1827, 1829 for Ruth Converse. Eaton, N. H., Town Records, II, March, 1823; (MS, N. H. Secretary of State) when Abraham Kineson was sold to Eleazar Kineson for nothing; in March, 1824, Seth Snell went to Alden Snell for nothing. Athol, Mass., Town Meeting Minutes, March 6, 1815 (Cyrenius Mitchell) (MS, Athol). Hollis, Me., Town Records, I, March 11, 1822 (MS, Maine Historical Society)

(Rachael Haley). West Greenwich, R. I., Town Council Minutes, January 31, 1814 (Arnold Ellis); April 25, 1814 (Christiana Lampher). (MS, State Archives, Providence).

23 *Abbott vs. the Town of Fremont* (1857), 34 N. H. Reports, 432, 436.

24 *The Old Records of the Town of Fitchburg, Massachusetts* (Fitchburg, 1901), IV, 132, 167, 189, 222, 252, etc.

25 Hancock, N. H., Poor Return 1824.

26 Durham, N. H., Select Men's Book of Contracts, vendue contracts 1817-1832, *passim* (MS, N. H., Historical Society). Bridgewater, N. H., Town Records, II, March 13, 1821.

27 Bath, N. H., Town Records, V, March 9, 1824, and March 8, 1825 (Hannah Hunt). Canaan, N. H., Town Records II, March, 1815. Nathaniel Snow's children were vendued "if they should be chargeable to the town in future." [Bethlehem, N. H., Town Book, I, November, 1816. (MS, N. H., Historical Society)].

28 Northampton, Mass., Records, IV, April 5, 1802 (MS, City Hall) Gilmanton, N. H., Town Records, IV, March, 1815, 1821. The records of Person County, N. C., include a case of a free Negro who "when being offered to the lowest bidder . . . withdrew him self & refused to become a parishner." [Minutes of Wardens, April 18, 1807].

29 North Providence, R. I., Town Meeting Record, June 4, 1810. Gilmanton, N. H., 1829. Baldwin, Me., Town Records, March 6, 1843. An exception was made for Dolly Dyer of Baldwin, who received 50 cents a week for her own support.

30 Cumberland, R. I., Town Meeting Minutes, I, June 1, 1807; June 4, 1810, June 3, 1811. On Tiverton and Scituate, see Margaret Creech, *Three Centuries of Poor Relief Administration, A Study of Legislation in Rhode Island* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, [1936]).

31 Cyrus Eaton, *Annals of the Town of Warren* (Hallowell, 1851), pp. 301, 311.

32 Alton, N. H., Town Records, March 14, 1827. Candia Poor Return, 1824. Andover, N. H., Town Records, I, March 13, 1821, March 13, 1827. West Greenwich, R. I., had the contractor taking all the poor "Provide Materials for the poor," and "alot to each a Reasonable Task." [Town Meeting Book, December 5, 1809].

33 As devoted a friend of the poorhouse system as the Reverend Joseph Tuckerman noted with satisfaction the evolution in Massachusetts towns without poor farms, from the individual vendue to the group vendue. [Massachusetts, House of Representatives, *Documents* 1833, no. 6, pp. 28-29]. Already in 1824 a trend had been discerned in a number of Atlantic states, away from older outdoor relief arrangements (boarding a poor person with a friend, or at home, and the individual vendue) to the poorhouse system, and one where "the permanent paupers are . . . collected together and boarded by one person at the lowest rate." [Portsmouth Town Records, 1821-1833, pp. 122-123 (April 13, 1824)].

34 Paxton, Mass., Selectmen's Journal, April 7, 1828, April 7, 1829 (MS, Baker Library, Harvard University). See also, e.g., Baldwin, Me., Town Records, March 5, 1825, when Eleazar Man took all those who were then and who would become chargeable during the year 1825, for \$384; and Limerick, Me., Records, April, 1837 (MS, Maine Historical Society). In April 1833, John Hack-

enbury made a similar arrangement with Kingwood Township, N. J., for \$1,000, excluding doctors' bills. In 1838, Edward Fox took the contract for only \$488.25, but by 1844, the town was paying \$558. (Minutes, April 1833 through 1844).

35 Tewksbury Township, N. J., Minutes, April, 1817. Howell Township, N. J., Minutes III, February, 1840. The poor of South Hempstead, N. Y., were bid off to a tavern keeper, at \$1 a week for each. [New York State Assembly, *Documents* 1844, I, No. 21, p. 107].

36 Massachusetts Secretary of the Commonwealth, *Abstract of the Returns of the Overseers of the Poor . . .* 1845, p. 5; *ibid.*, 1847, p. 5. Durham Poor Return, 1831.

37 Marcus Wilson Jernegan, *Laboring and Dependent Classes in Colonial America 1607-1783* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1931), p. 208. In Great Britain, Sulgrave venued the aged and infirm; at Yardley, Hastings, the unemployed men were auctioned weekly. "In many places the roundsmen system is effected by means of an auction . . ." The roundsmen were able-bodied paupers who were hired out from farm to farm, under one variant of the Speenhamland System. (Great Britain, Poor Law Board, *Report of His Majesty's Commissioners for Inquiring into the Administration and Practical Operation of the Poor Laws* (London, 1834) p. 32.

38 Henry Cabot Lodge, *Short History of the English Colonies in America* (Rev. ed.; New York, 1900), p. 441. On the vendue in New Jersey and Pennsylvania see Dorothea L. Dix's *Memorials to the Legislatures of those states*.

39 Sophonisba P. Breckinridge, *The Illinois Poor Law and its Administration* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press [1939]), pp. 13, 62-64. Fern Boan, *History of Poor Relief Legislation and Administration in Missouri* ([Chicago]: University of Chicago Press, 1941), p. 44.

40 Thomas Prentice Kettell, *Southern Wealth and Northern Profits . . .* (New York, 1860), pp. 110-111. D. R. Handley, *Social Relations in our Southern States* (New York, 1860), p. 258. In the novel, *A Look at Home*, a lawyer asked his fellow-townsmen: "Do you like it 'exactly' that we should sell them [the poor] off as slaves, and disenfranchise them? Don't we give our Southern folks a chance to talk 'Turkey' against us?" [S. H. Elliot, *op. cit.*, p. 430]. One writer conceded that vendue was no longer in use in New England, but asked the abolitionists to admit that masters no longer mal-treated their slaves. ["A Northern Man," *The Planter or Thirteen Years in the South* (Philadelphia, 1853), p. 135].

Poor Returns, 1829 for Giles and Halifax Counties, Va. (MS, State Archives, Richmond). *The American Almanac and Repository of Useful Knowledge, for the Year 1838* (p. 230) implies that the system of venduing the poor was in use throughout North Carolina, before almshouses became the fashion. See also Guion Griffis Johnson, (Chapel Hill: The University of North Carolina Press, 1937), p. 693. On South Carolina auctioning of the poor, see Richard B. Morris, *loc. cit.*, p. 199; Robert Mills, *Statistics of South Carolina . . .* (Charleston, 1826), p. 647. Adiel Sherwood, *Gazeteer of the State of Georgia* (3rd ed.; Washington City, 1837), p. 327.

41 Alice Shaffer *et. al.*, *The Indiana Poor Law* (Chicago: Uni-

versity of Chicago Press, [1936], p. 24. Maine House of Representatives, *Documents* 1835, no. 20, p. 5; Me., 1847, c. 12. N. Y., 1848, c. 76. Venduing was the practice in Hempstead and Jamaica, Queens County, and Islip in Suffolk County, reported J. H. French [*Gazeteer of the State of New York . . .* (Syracuse, 1860), pp. 547, 548, 636]. In April, 1850, the poor of Flushing were being put to the "Lowest bidder by the week." [*Flushing Town Records* 1833-1863, p. 137. (MS. no. 811, New York City Comptroller's Office.) N. C., 1876/77, c. 277, sec. 2.

42 *Sayres vs. Inhabitants of Springfield*, 3 Halstead [8 N. J., Law Reports], 204, 207. Hendrick B. Wright (*op. cit.*, p. 264) stated that the Union Township case "put a final stop" to the practice. For allusions to the case, by Judge Burnside, the attorney in this case, see *Overseers of Milton vs. Overseers of Williamsport* (1848), 9 Pa., State Reports, 46, 48-49. Purdon's *Digest of the Laws of Pennsylvania* by Frederick C. Brightly; [8th ed., (Philadelphia, 1853), p. 659, fn.Q] citing the last case, observed that vendue was an "indictable offence." Dix, *Memorial . . . to the Legislature of Pennsylvania* (Philadelphia, 1845), p. 5.

43 Hazard *passim*. James Montgomery Bailey, *History of Danbury, Conn.* (New York, 1896), p. 455. Danville, N. H., Town Records, III, March 1860. John S. Barry referred to the vendue system as "quite common [in Massachusetts] twenty-five years ago." [*Historical Sketch of the Town of Hanover, Mass.* (Boston, 1853), p. 168] Clay County, N. C., was still venduing its poor in 1869. [North Carolina Board of Public Charities, *First Annual Report . . . 1870* (Raleigh, 1870), p. 42].

THE NEWBURYPORT THEATRE IN THE 18th CENTURY

By JAMES M. BARRISKILL

The theatre came late and unwanted into New England. Forbidden by conscience, prohibited by law, ignored by business men as an idle waste of time, the theatre people found little encouragement to display their talents. As late as January 17, 1798, a Boston gentleman wrote Mr. Russell of the *Columbian Centinel*, "Conjurors, idlers and strollers, &c, always meet an unfavorable reception with the more industrious and more useful part of the community; . . ." As Boston thought and acted, so did the surrounding towns. Newburyport adhered closely to the pattern.

Newbury was settled in 1635 as a farming and later a cattle-raising community. Soon, those people of Newbury living near the mouth of the Merrimack River became interested in fishing and coastal shipping which, in turn, led to the West India trade. As their interest became more and more linked to the sea, they petitioned the General Court to become a separate town. This was granted in 1764, and the new town was called Newbury-Port.

From the beginning, life in Newburyport had centered around the Market, an open triangular space close to the Town Landing. Facing the sea and overlooking the harbor stood the Meeting House from 1725 until it was demolished in 1801.¹ Up from the Market ran the streets, irregular, unpaved and muddy. Through the town hung the pungent smell of fish, — dried, salted and pickled. The odor of tar and fresh cut lumber vied with the sundry aromas of the tallow factories, the butchers' shambles and the several tanneries that were in the Market Square area. The various shops were small and dingy; the large wooden warehouses along the wharves were weather-beaten, though the newer ones which were being built were of brick. Not until we are in the early Federal Period do we hear of the buildings and homes being painted, yellow and red, and lastly white

¹ From 1725 to 1764, it was the Meeting House of the Third Parish in Newbury, from 1764, it was the First Religious Society of Newburyport.

on the mansions which were beginning to align themselves proudly along High street.

In the early grim days preceding the Revolution we find the first reference in Newburyport to anything which pertains to the theatre. It is interesting to note that the attack is not from the Puritan point of view, but from a patriotic front. In Boston, where concerts had had some sporadic success, W. S. Morgan had advertised a concert for the 8th of September, 1774,² to be given at Concert Hall. This concert which displayed a flagrant and frivolous attitude on the part of some citizens displeased one patriot of Newburyport to such a point that he wrote the *Essex Journal* a letter on September 21, 1774, signing himself "W".

For the Essex Journal, &c.

Messrs. Printers

I was very much surprized at reading an advertisement for a public concert in Mills and Hick's paper, now at a time of general distress and anxiety throughout the whole continent of America, on account of the late unconstitutional acts of the British parliament, endeavouring to subject several millions of free-born Englishmen; and to introduce cruel despotism into this glorious land which our ancestors purchased for us with their blood and treasure.

It is looked upon by most thinking people that all public *Balls*, *Assemblies* and *Concerts* throughout the province ought to be suspended until we are extricated out of our difficulties.

When it was proposed to contribute toward the support of the poor of Boston³, it was said by many, that it was unnecessary, when the inhabitants could so lavishly spend their money upon such diversions; and would have been of great weight, to prevent the charitable donations of some had it not been for those who concluded such reports proceeded from the enemies of our country and constitution, and carefully contradicted them. [Signed] W-----

One year later, this same Morgan, who was not at all in favor with the Colonists, drew a news item in the edi-

2 Adv. *Massachusetts Gazette* and *Boston Post-Boy* 8:29, 9:5, 1774.

3 The citizens of Newburyport gave 200 pounds for the support of the poor of Boston, whose distress was caused by the closing of the port. See *Massachusetts Gazette* and *Boston Post-Boy*, 8:8-15, 1774.

torial of the *Essex Journal* on September 8, 1775, "We hear that a regiment is forming in Boston, from the Ragamuffin Tories there, and that Four-ey'd Morgan, the fiddler, is their Adjutant; this intelligence we had from a Gentleman who saw them march into a field to be reviewed."

The seriousness of the Colonists wanting to cancel all activities pertinent to amusements was not entirely lip service to the cause of war preparation. One month later, on October 22, 1774, the Continental Congress passed a resolution aimed to stop all amusements in the American colonies. Four years later, the Congress passed another resolve on October 16, 1778, which terminated all theatrical activity in the states until the close of hostilities.⁴ Everywhere in America the theatre came to a standstill, except for the amateur theatricals of the British soldiers who continued to produce plays to amuse themselves and, most of all, to annoy the Colonists. The professional players either returned to England, went to Jamaica, or turned to other work here in America for the duration.

Newburyport, ever a town of contradictions, had its first recorded theatrical exhibit on September 26, 1774, five days following "W's" indignant letter. Samuel Horton wrote in his diary for this date, "A very fine Monday[.] Came to town Mrs. Emy Leach a Remarkable Small Wooman [sic] [.] Because of the success of her appearance in Boston in August, 1771,⁵ and because of the interest which she stirred up, Emma Leach was featured with a woodcut portrait and biography in Nathaniel Ames' *Almanack* for 1772. Born in Beverly, Massachusetts, in 1719, the Ames' biography tells us, she was at birth as normal as her ten brothers and sisters. Because of the softness of her bones, she had to lie in an horizontal position. When her bone structure did acquire some hardness, her bones grew into monstrous shapes. Her head was of normal size, while her vertebrae were elevated; her sternum formed a straight line with her chin, and her ribs made a huge protuberance with the sternum. As the bones of her legs were crooked, her friends had to carry her, or she moved herself by the aid of a chair or stick. Her health was tolerable except for indigestion

4 *Journals of Congress, 1774-1789.*

5 *Massachusetts Spy, 8:22, 29, 1771.*

which often brought on hysterics or epileptic fits. In her contacts with people, she was vivacious. Following her Boston appearance, she had returned to her home in Beverly where, her biography tells, "She now enjoys herself very agreeably at her native place."

There actually was an Emma Leach of Beverly, Massachusetts, born on June 27, 1717, daughter of William and Tryphosey Leach. Likewise an Emma Leach, aged 60, was buried in the cemetery of the First Universalist Church in Beverly, on November 18, 1779, *Vital Records*, Beverly, Mass. Though there is a two year discrepancy of the birth date in the biography and the *Vital Records*, there is no purpose in arguing the point. Emma Leach blandly removed two years of her age in her publicity.

This first recorded theatrical exhibition in Newburyport came at a taut moment in the town's history. Beset by rumors of war and rebellion on the one hand, and flanked with patriotic indignation against concerts on the other, it is little wonder that Emma Leach's reception in town did not leave more details than this one happy discovery in Samuel Horton's diary. We don't know where she exhibited nor how long she stayed in town. She probably had an audience, for she was a wonder to behold.

Guy Fawkes Day, the fifth of November, was a holiday brought over from England and whose celebration in New England had grown into enormous and dangerous proportions. It was in its very nature an exhibition and a show. Celebrated with elaborate parades of magnificent floats and gaily dressed fun makers, the revelry often went out of control. For the most part the lawless elements of the towns and cities were in complete charge most of the day, and, which was worse, the night.⁶ Knowing the fearful fights and bloodshed that had occurred in Boston in former years, the Committee of Safety in Newburyport, conscious of the immediate dangers of riots in these tinder-like times, passed a law in October, 1774 "to prevent any tumult or disorder, taking place at any time in the evening or night; and that no effigies be carried about, or exhibited on the Fifth of November, or at any other time, save only in the day time.

⁶ See Samuel Breck's: *Recollections*, pp. 35-36; also Esther Forbes' *Paul Revere*, pp. 89-94.

And the town also recommends it to all Parents, Masters, and others, to prevent the wasting of Gunpowder in the firing of crackers, squibs, &c. on any occasion."⁷ The Committee felt that this law, founded on reason and consistent with established laws, would be respected by all. Those who did not conform would be prosecuted. "Nevertheless if any youths should be disposed to divert themselves, and others, by exhibiting any kind of Pageantry, on the Fifth of November, no exceptions will be taken, provided it be performed with decency and order, and in the day time." No reports of any irregularities followed.

The following year the *Essex Journal* for November 3, 1775, contained the following advertisement: "The Committee of Safety for the Town of Newbury-Port, think it their Duty, to desire all persons, to forbear exhibiting any Pageantry, Shows, Bonfires or Fireworks, in this Town in the Day or Evening, of the fifth of November next, as any of these things may occasion much difficulty at this time." The war having begun the preceding April, the desire of the Committee, requesting forbearance, is indeed, an understated request.

Though the theatre was frowned upon, music, both sacred and secular, had enjoyed a long and wide activity in Newburyport. Beginning with the vigorous and influential work of Rev. John Tufts in the Second Parish of Newbury before 1720, sacred music was nurtured with some success by singing schools in the various parishes of the town. The most outstanding of the schools was the Musical Society, of some 50-100 members, at the North Meeting House on Titcomb street. For this group the Rev. Oliver Noble, minister of the Fifth Parish, delivered a sermon on February 8, 1774, *Regular and Skillfull Music in the Worship of God*.⁸ Popular music must have had a wide scope in Newburyport, for it was a seaport town whose streets along the waterfront were well supplied with taverns and rum shops, catering to inter-racial crowds of transient sailors. What chantys, ballads and ribald verses were sung here for generations, no contemporary writer has cared or

7 *Essex Journal*, 10:26, 1774.

8 Adv. of copies for sale *Essex Journal*, 4:14, 1774; there is a copy of the sermon at American Antiquarian Society.

dared enter them in his day book. Later in the century we find in the homes a wide range of amateur musical activity, both vocal and instrumental. Especially do the years 1787-1788 have a full, though acerbic coverage in that portion of John Quincy Adams' Diary, published as *Life In a New England Town* (Little, Brown, Boston, 1903). Written while Adams was a student here under the famous jurist, Theophilus Parsons, the diary reveals, beside a lively, urbane existence of dinner parties, dances, evenings "on the town", a flourishing amateur musical life.

The most important musical entry in the Adams diary for us records the concert at the Town House on May 15, 1788. This is the first public concert that we have seen in Newburyport. The bare entry tells us all that we know. Adams, who often took a short stroll about the town before retiring, wrote, ". . . just as I got home I met a number of people who had just come from the town-house, where, it seems, they were entertained with a concert this evening." The local newspaper contained no reference to the concert. The performers could not have been well-known professionals, as Adams would have known of them, and probably would have gone. If he had known them, or, heard of them, he would have said so, for this sudden reticence is unlike him. Usually he is more than generous in his entries regarding people, giving them terse, descriptive phrases. As Adams tells of many local musicians and musical groups in Newburyport it is very doubtful that the concert on May 15th was of local inspiration. Adams was never one to pass over lightly either a good or bad amateur. So, it would seem, bolstered by the phrase, ". . . where, it seems, they were entertained by a concert this evening", that Adams did not know the concert people and was looking down his aristocratic nose at the entire affair.

The Town House where this concert was given was a two-story, wooden structure, built in 1762, on the southeast corner of State and Essex Streets.⁹ The lower floor, whose ceiling was upheld by posts, was used for various private schools until about 1806. The upper floor served as a Court House, until the new one, designed by Charles Bulfinch, was erected on Bartlett Mall. In 1784 a gallery

9 Currier: *History of Newburyport*, I, p. 129.

was built in the Court Room,¹⁰ showing that the room was large enough for a public assembly hall. By 1806, the building was abandoned in its own ruins, and was finally torn down in 1810 to make way for the new town house.

The following July 29th, 1789 (*Essex Journal*), Mr. Samuel H. Flagg from Portsmouth, N. H., announced his "Concert of vocal and instrumental Music" for the 5th of August at the Town House. While Mr. Flagg was not a professional, he was more in that stature than anyone who had yet appeared here. Mr. Flagg presented "his politest compliments to the Ladies and Gentlemen of Newbury-Port, and its vicinity," and informed the readers that he would have "the assistance of some of the principal performers" of Newburyport, and "likewise Mr. Garnet (a professed musician from Portsmouth)." He flattered himself that the entertainment would "be worthy the attention of those who" would "honor him with their company." The tickets at two shillings each were to be had at David Cutler's¹¹ and at the Printer's Office. The doors opened at half past six, with the performance beginning "precisely at half past seven." Bills of the performance were handed out at the door of the Town House.

Mr. Flagg had been in town since April, teaching dancing on Tuesdays and Wednesdays¹² at Masons' Hall, a long, conspicuous, wooden building on Temple street near Fair.¹³ The dancing school was on the second floor that was used by the town for public and social gatherings; also by the Masons as a lodge room.¹⁴ Mr. Flagg, in addition to dancing, offered his services in repairing and teaching the Piano Forte, Harpsichord, Spinet and Flute. He said that he had letters, recommending his ability¹⁵ from some of the principal gentlemen of Portsmouth, where he had taught dancing the year before.¹⁶ The dancing did not succeed too

¹⁰ Newburyport Town Records, I, p. 425.

¹¹ A distiller who lived and had his warehouse on Merrimack street near Green street and the Upper Long Wharf. Currier: *History of Newburyport*, I, p. 503.

¹² E. J., 4:22; 5:6, 13, 1789.

¹³ Unpub. MSS. of Isaac Adams, p. 20; in possession of the Historical Society of Old Newbury.

¹⁴ Currier: *History of Newburyport*, II, pp. 119, 121.

¹⁵ E. J., 4:22, 1789.

¹⁶ *New Hampshire Gazette*, 10:30, 1788.

well in Newburyport, for on May 27, 1789, (E. J.) Mr. Flagg sounded an obsequious note in offering to teach dancing in the evening if the afternoons were inconvenient for the young people.

Swelling, and, perhaps sweetening the harmonies of the local performers, Mr. Flagg presented "Mr. Garnet (a professed musician from Portsmouth)". This was none other than Horatio Garnet who was very active in musical circles at this time. He was a teacher of instrumental music in Portsmouth for some years¹⁷ and later the music master at Mr. Dearborn's Academy in Portsmouth.¹⁸

On the 5th of August Mr. Flagg repeated his concert advertising of July 29th, (E. J.) with a new heading, *This Evening*. Meanwhile the prices had been reduced from two shillings to one and six, and 9d. for children. Some of the local musicians were to play, "and some from Portsmouth." Mr. Garnet was among the missing; probably he had to return to Portsmouth to ready himself for his own concert there on September 28th.¹⁹ With Garnet's name missing, and the reduction of prices, there seems to be indications that all was not well in the concert field of Newburyport, and that this was a last stand of Mr. Flagg to ward off financial collapse. The advertising for this date does not sound substantial.

The concert on the 5th took place. Whether it was an artistic success, is not known. The box office receipts were low as the concert was rained out. This we know from the diary entry of the Rev. Thomas Cary, Minister of the First Religious Society of Newburyport, for August 5th, "Thunder shower in the Evg. much rain, Concert at the Town House." People in the 18th century did not go out for trifles when the weather was bad. Sometimes we find in the advertising of concerts of the period, that, in case of bad weather, the performance would be given on the next fair, clear evening.

Undaunted, Mr. Flagg advertised one last concert for September 30th, 1789.²⁰ Paying the customary respects to his hoped-for audience, Samuel Flagg promised a CON-

17 New Hampshire *Gazette*, 10:23, 1788.

18 Adv. E. J., 5:4, 1791.

19 New Hampshire *Gazette*, 9:24, 1789.

20 E. J., 9:23.

CONCERT.

MR. FLAGG presents his
politest compliments to the
Ladies and Gentlemen of New-
bury-port, and its vicinity, and
informs them that he intends
performing a *Concert of vocal and
instrumental Music*, on *Wednesday*
the *fifth of August next*, at the
Town-House.—As he will have
the assistance of some of the prin-
cipal performers of this town;
and likewise Mr. *Garnet* (a pro-
fessed musician from *Portsmouth*)
—He flatters himself the en-
tertainment will be worthy the
attention of those who shall ho-
nor him with their company.

Tickets at *two shillings each*
may be had at *Mr. David Cutler's*,
or at this Office.

* * * The doors will be opened
at half past 6 o'clock, and to
begin precisely at half past seven.

*☞ Bills of the performance will
be delivered at the door.*

Newbury-port, July 29.

CERT of INSTRUMENTAL MUSIC. Since no place was mentioned, it is presumed he performed in the Town House, where he had given his first two concerts. "As the inclemency of the weather prevented a number from attending his last Musical Exhibition," he hoped, since the last concert had been favorably received, that the coming one would "fully answer the expectations" of those who would attend. No mention was made of any assisting artists. The price scale of August 5th remained in effect, and the tickets were for sale at the Printer's or at the door of the Town House.

Following the concert series of Mr. Samuel H. Flagg, no amusements on the theatrical side were forthcoming in Newburyport for some years. Yet, scattered through the issues of the *Essex Journal*, indicating more than a furtive interest in the forbidden pleasures of play-going, we find fill-ins, anecdotes, news items, squibs and features on the theatre both in this country and abroad. The opening of the Albany (New York) Theatre in December, 1785, was noted in detail;²¹ stage benefits in the larger cities, given for those who had been captured by Tunisian pirates, were of great interest to many in Newburyport, whose husbands and sons had been made captives, whose ships and fortunes had been taken, whose fortunes had been wasted and lost. Activities of the Boston theatre world, about to be made legitimate, were carefully noted in the local papers. The events of the Legislature, debating the repeal of the 1750 prohibitory act against stage plays, from November 1792, to January 1793, were quoted by columns from the pages of *Columbian Sentinel*. The story of the Board Alley Theatre was reported in a straightforward manner.

All this pertinent and honest reporting of the recent theatrical developments in Boston seemed to indicate that the interest of Newburyport people in the theatre was growing more tolerant. The embedded hostility towards the theatre seemed dying. But suddenly, the old order again raised its denying head in an editorial in the *Essex Journal* on January 16, 1793.

Whatever else the following editorial has to offer, it does give as fine a fustian and dull point of view as we have met in any 18th century opposition to the theatre. Most of the

21 *Ibid.*, 1:11, 1786.

old, time-worn objections to the theatre were resuscitated, without a ring of conviction in any one of them. For the record let the editorial be reprinted in its entirety:

On Theatres.

Too much praise cannot be given to the patriotic Governor of this Commonwealth for his conduct in opposing the Theatre in Boston. Notwithstanding all the arguments, which ingenuity has produced in support of this design, it is, past doubt, only an inlet to idleness, extravagance, and immorality; and roots out that attention of the public mind, which ought always to be absorbed in plans for the general good.

To expect to allure foreigners, or to gratify our own countrymen, who love things noble and excellent, by building play-houses, is insulting their understandings, and making ourselves appear fools.

The Inhabitants of Portsmouth exulted greatly, last winter, that they were more free, liberal and privileged than Boston, and without interruption, enjoyed a play-house. They gave full latitude to themselves and their children, in attending constantly. Evening lectures on religion, were suspended, or very little thronged, while the theatre, could not accommodate the large numbers which nightly resorted to it. Few of the performances were entirely decent. — Many sources for altercation arose among the hearers, and confusion among the players. — The present season is a scene of industry, quietness, and reflection; and will end in concerting a plan for building a bridge across the Pissatiqua-river next summer.

The town of Newburyport is enriched, and made happy by visiting a bridge, which is a permanent source of riches — far exceeding the income of the largest theatre in America. All classes rejoice, while they taste the benefit of this noble piece of Architecture, and advantageous convenience for the Country.²²

One of the great duties of the Patriot, is, to concert ex-

22 It is true that Newburyport had a new bridge in 1792, the first to span the Merrimack, and the first bridge of its type in America (Currier: *History of Newburyport*, I, p. 368). Removing the dependence upon the ancient, unreliable and dangerous ferries, the bridge was a "source of riches" and a "convenience for the Country" as it was an easy lane by which raw materials from the west and inland north of New England could come into the ever-widening markets and shipping lanes of the seaport town.

tensive and noble plans, which, while they engage the public thought and conversation, give vigor to industry, adorn society, increase wealth, and extend benevolence. — Such has ever been the system of Governor Hancock. In perfect consistency with this, he has acted as the noble, manly, and firm friend to his country, in checking the play-house in Boston — and discharged his duty amidst popular clamor and insolent abuse.

Americans are wise and good — they know how to esteem and reward the resolute and patriotic.

On May 27, 1793, there was horse racing on the Plains in the north portion of the town.²³ Since horse racing is a form of exhibition, we venture to include it in a story of the theatre. There had been two earlier instances of racing, the first advertised in the *Essex Journal* on May 18, 1774, "A Horse Race to be on Newbury Plains, near Mr. Whitmore's Tavern, on Wednesday the 25th instant." As is the case of so many of the early Newbury taverns, nothing is known of Mr. Whitmore's tavern except that it was in the north end of the town on the Newbury Plains, a barren stretch of land on the right side of what is now Storey avenue. An earlier reference to the tavern discloses that, in the summer of 1762, the first legal meeting for the Fifth Parish, Newbury, was held in the "dwelling-house of Mrs. Elizabeth Whitmore, innholder in said parish."²⁴ Thanks to Samuel Horton's diary, we know that May 25th, the day for the race, was a "fine Wednesday—[.]"

After twenty years another race was announced, though it is highly improbable that there were none between. In 1791, the June 29th issue of the *Essex Journal* contained the following news item: "As there has been much talk about a Horse-race on Grasshopper-Plains for two years past, and people have been disappointed, the Public may be assur'd there will be a Race on Monday next, in the afternoon (it being Independence day) upon Newbury-Plains, near the Meeting-House where the Rev. Oliver Noble formerly preached." The stretch of land today is called the Plains, and down to the turn of the present century, retained the two ancient appellations. The name Grasshop-

23 E. J., 5:15, 1793.

24 Fiske: *Historical Discourse*, p. 9.

per was given as the land was so barren and worthless that grasshoppers, travelling from one end of it to the other could scarcely subsist.²⁵ Recently, in cutting the new highway, the rocky formation, in some places less than a foot beneath the sandy soil, has shown the cause of this barrenness and ancient uselessness of the soil. Horse racing was enjoyed on the Plains as late as 1907.

The race on May 27, 1793, was on Steven's Plains in Salisbury. We had best go by way of the new bridge, it will be quicker, and we can look in at the tavern on Deer Island for some rum. It will be well to become acquainted with the tavern for we will see some performances there in the next few years. Though the local rum is very good, we should not tarry too long since the race starts soon after three. The advertisement in the *Essex Journal* on May 15, 1793 reads:

Horse-Racing

Those persons who are fond of the Amusement of Horse-Racing, are hereby informed, that some of the most capital Horses in several neighboring towns are engaged to run on Stevens' Plains, near Webster's Point, Salisbury, on Wednesday the 27th inst. being Election-day; & that the Cavalcade will proceed to the ground[s], from the sign of President Washington, in Salisbury, at 3 o'clock P.M.

May 6th, 1793

Stevens' Plains was north of the landing on the Powow river, near the present Mudnock Road and opposite Deer Island. Webster's Point, now known as Salisbury Point, was the site of considerable shipping long before 1725. The name of the inn from which the horses paraded to the racing grounds, is obscured by time. We imagine that it was the tavern, which, when George Washington came to Amesbury on his 1789 tour of the New England States, was the inn managed or owned by Ebenezer Pearson in Jonathan Morrill's house.²⁶ From the fame of Washington's visit to it, the change of name of the tavern was natural. It had not been long, following the Revolution, that all taverns and streets with royal names had been

25 Emery: *Reminiscences*, p. 201.

26 *History of Amesbury*, p. 304.

MR. & MRS. SOLOMON.

Vocal Performers from the Southward,

Having performed their CONCERTS in South-Carolina, Georgia, Virginia, Boston,
Providence and Salem, with great applause, have now the honour of waiting on
the Ladies and Gentlemen of Newburyport, for the purpose of performing them
as amusement worthy the patronage of the Public.

This Evening (Tuesday) April 22.

A CONCERT OF VOCAL AND INSTRUMENTAL MUSIC. Will be held at the UNION HALL, consisting of RECENT and FASHIONABLE SONGS and DUETS,

Interspersed with the

RECITATION of several PIECES, PROSAIC & in VERSE

From the most celebrated AUTHORS and the SONGS connected with them.
The Concert to be divided into three parts; at the end of the first Part of the
Concert will be delivered a

MORAL LECTURE.

In three parts called the

PROVOK'D HUSBAND

REFOR' M'D WIFE.

By Mr. Radfield, Miss Brown,
and Mrs. Solomon.

The Favourite Song of the "Dreaded French Spy" By Mr. Solomon.

The much admired Air, "The Isle of Richmond-Hill," by Miss Brown.

A favourite Scotch Song, called "Every Tom o' Shropshire," by Mrs. Solomon.

The much admired Song of Hearing the Anchor, sheet, called "Hoy Hoy,"

By Mr. Solomon.

At the end of the third part of the Concert will be delivered a

MORAL LECTURE.

With the Original Songs and Duets, called

THOMAS and SALLY.

OR THE

SAILOR'S RETURN.

By Mr. Radfield, Miss Brown,
and Mrs. Solomon.

The favourite Duet of "The Rain Tree," By Miss Brown.

Dibdin's Favourite Song of the "Grovewood Fisher" or the "Dashed Tar,"

By Mr. Solomon.

*⁴ TICKETS at 1/- each for Ladies and Gentlemen, and Children under 12
years of age 1/6, may be had at the place of performance, and at the Star Printing
Office. Doors to be opened at 6 o'clock, and the Curtain to rise at 7.

SOLOMON'S HANDBILL

Newburyport, 1794

changed to federal ones. We will meet Ebenezer Pearson again when he becomes landlord of the tavern on Deer Island.

Newburyport had been earlier assailed by touches of the theatrical world, that is, exhibitions and concerts; now, with the arrival of the first drama, its foundations were undermined. What angry fears and dread must have risen in the minds of the people when they read the *Morning Star* on April 22, 1794. There on page three, to strike the eye as one turned the front page, was the announcement that Mr. and Mrs. Solomon, "Vocal Performers from the Southward" would give a concert that evening in Union Hall. Not only that evening, but for "Three Nights"!

In recent years strolling players had been in Portland, Portsmouth and Salem, but they had not, as far as could be found, ever played Newburyport. To reach the northern cities by coach, the players had to pass through Newburyport. Yet they never stopped to entertain nor collect their hard earned shillings. Of all these strolling players, and there were many along the eastern seaboard during the latter part of the 18th century, Mr. and Mrs. Solomon were the most ubiquitous. Always billed as Mr. and Mrs. Solomon, with never a first name, they played nearly every city, town and village from Georgia to Portsmouth that boasted a semblance of a stage.

Their biography is mostly told in the introduction to their advertising, "Having performed . . . Concerts in South Carolina, Georgia, Virginia, Boston, Portsmouth and Salem, with great applause . . ." Billing themselves as "vocal performers", they were singer-actors who played almost constantly during the last fifteen years of the 18th century in concerts, musical plays and dramas. Mrs. Solomon made many appearances, sometimes in leading parts; Mr. Solomon less frequently and in smaller roles. His notices were few and with scant praise, while his wife's were many and of more than moderate praise. Their three children played the usual run of juvenile parts. The history of the Solomon family is obscure, their notices scattered, yet their engagements were frequent. Where they came from, where or when they finally retired, no one knows. Many have tried to trace them, but their complete identity has proved elusive.

The program presented by the Solomons in Newburyport in April 1794 was the typical Concert-Moral Lecture performance. Boston was at this time enjoying performances of the drama at the Federal Street Theatre; but it was wiser in the towns and villages to continue performing plays as Moral Lectures, sweetened by the word concert. This verbal cloak had been used since the Revolution in order to escape the stigma of the theatre, and its usage was continued even at this later date to avoid the inevitable religious issues. The program of the Solomons', "A Concert of Vocal and Instrumental Musick," consisted "of Recent and Fashionable Songs, and Duets, interspersed with the Recitation of several Pieces, Prosaic and in Verse. From the most celebrated Authors, and the SONGS connected with them".²⁷ Following part one which was probably music, they acted a "Moral Lecture, In three Parts called, The Provok'd Husband or The Reformed Wife." A likely piece to play in a town where drama had never dared to appear! It would be interesting to know the distribution of parts with a company of four players: Mr. and Mrs. Solomon, Mr. Redfield and a Miss Brown. Of Miss Brown, the author knows nothing. Mr. Redfield, an obscure actor, had appeared in small parts at the Board Alley Theatre during September-December 1792,²⁸ and later in Baltimore;²⁹ in both cities he was in companies with the Solomons.

To contrast Sir John Vanbrugh's play, songs were in order. Mr. Solomon led off with the *Flaxen Headed Plough Boy*, which should read *Cow-Boy*.³⁰ "The Much Admired Air, *The Lass of Richmond-Hill*, by Miss Brown" followed. Then Mrs. Solomon with "A favourite Scotch Song, called *Bonny Jem of Aberdeen*" and Mr. Solomon with "The Much Admired Song of Heaving the Anchor Short, called *Hoe, Heo*" completed the third portion of the concert.

A second Moral Lecture closed the performances, Thomas Arne's opera, *Thomas and Sally*, or *The Sailor's Return* with Mr. and Mrs. Solomon and Mr. Redfield in the cast. *The Rose Tree*, sung by Mr. Solomon and Miss Brown,

27 Adv. *Morning Star*, 4:22, 1794.

28 Record of the Boston Stage, p. 10.

29 News item in the *Columbian Centinel*, 7:17, 1793.

30 See Wilson, *Musical Cyclopedie* for copy of song.

followed the opera. "Dibdin's favourite song of the *Greenwich Pensioner, or the Disabled Tar*" brought the performance to a close.

With the presentation of the Solomons', we move into the first theatre building in Newburyport, Union Hall where most of the subsequent theatrical performances will be given until well into the 19th century. Union Hall, on the south-easterly side of Green street near Merrimack street,³¹ was a squat, two story clapboard building, the second story of which was known as Union Hall.³² There was a tavern on the ground floor,³³ while the hall in the second story was used for dancing schools, social gatherings and lodge room. In the middle of the last century the building was turned into a tenement and finally torn down in 1916 to make room for the present Strand Theatre. The hall was quite large as we learn from an editorial in the *Political Gazette* for March 10, 1797; Renard, a French dancing teacher from Boston, gave an elegant ball at which there were 200 ladies and gentlemen present. In winter the room was heated by fireplaces at either end; in summer the hall was in little use. Standing room was in order since the seating arrangements were makeshift at best. Only in magic shows and in exhibitions of Philosophical experiments were there definite seating plans. The lighting with tallow candles was dim at best, and these house lights sufficed for lighting the performance as well. The admission was three shillings for ladies and gentlemen, one and six for children under twelve. No word of the three night stand either for or against appeared in the local papers. From Newburyport, Mr. and Mrs. Solomon pushed on to more performances.

In the autumn of 1794, following a two year battle over an organ, the First Religious Society had installed their first organ in the gallery of their ancient, unpainted Meeting House in Market Square. Surrounding the building was an open market; nearby were soap and candle factories, wool pulling and leather dressing establishments. All the pungent odors from those trades whose business was in vessels filled the air. The interior of the church had changed

31 Currier: *History of Newburyport*, I, p. 122, footnote 2.

32 *Centennial*, p. 22.

33 Adv. in *Political Gazette*, 7:30, 1795.

little since its raising in 1725; its square pews, high pulpit that was reached by a flight of stairs; behind the communion table were three high chairs with crimson seats; from the center of the ceiling hung a large glass chandelier for wax candles.³⁴

The new organ, built by the ingenious Dr. Josiah Leavitt of Boston, was dedicated on November 6, 1794 at three o'clock in the afternoon,³⁵ though the time was moved ahead an hour in the later announcement. The Rev. John Andrews, the assistant minister of the church gave the discourse, his text taken from the 150th Psalm (Rev. Thomas Cary's Diary, s.d.) and "several pieces of sacred music [were] performed by one of the first Organists in these parts." Possibly it was Josiah Leavitt himself who played the organ on this occasion as he once did at a similar instance in Worthington, Conn., in 1792 at the dedication of his organ there.³⁶ "This Organ," continued the local news item, "(which is certainly the most elegant of any in New-England) is about sixteen feet high, ten feet in breadth, and seven feet from front to rear." After the "divine service" was over, a contribution was taken for Josiah Leavitt's benefit.

Excitement ran high in the town and in the surrounding country side. The organ "was denominated a 'papistical device . . . a popish fiddle'. Much was said about the 'tootin' tub' and 'sarving the Devil on an organ'."³⁷ To dissuade some of the objectors, a motto in large gold letters, "Praise Him with Organs" was painted across the tops of the pipes. Though a tempest was brewed, so delighted were the leaders of the musical contingent of the First Society over their new organ that they announced for the following afternoon, November 7th, another musical feast.³⁸ The guest organist, "the celebrated Dr. Berkenhead from London", could not have impressed the Rev. Thomas Cary

34 There is a posthumous sketch of the Meeting House and the Market, — too neat, precise and unreal, to be found in Currier's *History of Newburyport*, I, p. 138. It is in Sarah Ann Emery's *Reminiscences of a Nonagenarian*, p. 208, that we find a memorable word picture of the 18th century Meeting House.

35 *Impartial Herald*, 10:31, 1794; M. S., 11:5, 1794.

36 Brooks' *Olden-Time Music*, p. 269.

37 Emery, p. 208.

38 I. H., 11:7, 1794.

MUSIC.

THIS Day, at 3 o'clock
in the Afternoon, will be performed
on the ORGAN, in the Meeting House of
the First Society in Newburyport, by the cele-
brated Dr. BERKENHEAD from London,
several of the most approved Pieces of
Sacred Music.

Tickets for admission, at Nine-pence
each, may be had at Mr. JOHN MCCALL's
Printing Office in Water-Street.

At the desire of several Gentle-
men and Ladies in Newburyport, this
CONCERT is undertaken, whose principal
design, next to their own gratification,
is, that the Builder of the Organ, who has
been indefatigable in his exertions to make
it one of the best in these parts, may, in
some measure be compensated therefor.

ADVERTISEMENT FROM THE IMPARTIAL HERALD

11:7, 1794

(Essex Institute)

who attended; his diary entry for that date was complete in this fullsome account, "Went to hear some pieces of music on the organ." However, the newspaper advertisement is somewhat more elaborate.

MUSIC

This Day, at 3 o'clock in the Afternoon, will be performed on the ORGAN, in the Meeting House of the First Society in Newburyport, by the celebrated Dr. Berkenhead from London, several of the most approved Pieces of Sacred Music.

Tickets for admission, at Nine-pence each, may be had at Mr. John Mycall's Printing Office on Water Street.

At the desire of several Gentlemen and Ladies in Newburyport, this *Concert* is undertaken, whose principal design, next to their own gratification, is, that the Builder of the Organ, who has been indefatigable in his exertions to make it one of the best in these parts, may, in some measure be compensated therefore.

John L[atham] Berkenhead,³⁹ a blind organist of some wide fame in and around Boston during the closing decade of the 1700's, had recently arrived in this country from England. Since his first appearance in this country has been generally accepted as on January 6, 1795,⁴⁰ this Newburyport concert may well have been his first American appearance. Dr. Berkenhead later became very active in Boston musical circles, in concert work, as a teacher, a church organist and a public performer at Bowen's Columbian Museum.⁴¹ No hint is given regarding the selection of the music for this local concert other than it was sacred. But mark! They sold tickets for admission! Selling tickets for a concert in a Meeting House! "How are the mighty fallen." Yet, business being business, the final paragraph of the advertisement has a calming effect since it is in keeping with the procedure of the Parish Meetings. The Proprietors on October 22, 1792, (*Parish Records II*, 1768-1818) had voted "that the parish are willing to have an Organ Erected

³⁹ See his Intention of Marriage, *City [Boston] Documents*, #101.

⁴⁰ C. C., 1:3, 1795; see also Sonneck; *Early Concert-Life*, p. 297.

⁴¹ *Ibid.*, 2:33, 1795, *passim*.

if it Can be Procur'd by private subscription." At the end of two years the organ was installed by a group of unnamed persons, interested in music, and it was these people who undertook this second musical afternoon, not only to give themselves pleasure, but to see to it that Josiah Leavitt was paid.

Close upon the heels of Dr. Berkenhead came Trille La Barre to give a concert on the 18th of November, 1794 at Union Hall.⁴² In less than two weeks there were three concerts in Newburyport! The tempo of the entertainment world had increased exceedingly. Trille La Barre's program for the 18th was purely secular in content, and as the Solomons before him, he advertised the names of the selections which he would perform.

CONCERT

Mr. Trille Labarre, Master of Music, from Paris, and late instructor of the Dutches [sic] of Orleans: Has the honor to inform the Ladies and Gentlemen of this town, that he will open a *Concert*, on the Piano Forte, on Tuesday evening next at Union-Hall — the following Songs,

The Prise of the Bastile, [Composed by Mr. Labarre.]
 A French Song, with variations,
 The March of the God of Love,
 One Concerto,
 Ma chere amie,
 Ca Ira,

And a great variety of other Songs.

Tickets for Ladies and Gentlemen 1/6 — for Children 9 pence, to be sold at Blunt & March's Book-store⁴³ —
 Doors open at 6 o'clock.

Newburyport, Nov. 14.

Trille La Barre, teacher and composer, a French emigré, settled in Boston following the political disturbances of the French Revolution. He was first mentioned in Boston musical life late in 1793 as a teacher,⁴⁴ and at one time he taught in Mr. and Mrs. LeChatelain's school in Newton.⁴⁵

42 I. H., 11:14, 1794.

43 Blunt and March's Book store was on State street, five doors below Wolfe's Tavern which was on the corner of Threadneedle Alley, I. H., 1:8, 1796. The store was also known as the Sign of the Bible, I. H., 7:21, 1795.

44 C. C., 11:2.

45 *Ibid.*, 7:29, 1795.

whose name is printed, according to
the New Act, to be sold by *Daniel Dodge*,
at his Store on the Lower Long Wharf.

Newburyport, Nov. 14, 1794.

CONCERT.

MMR. Trille Labarre,
Master of Music, from Paris, and
late instructor of the Dauphiness of Orléans;
Has the honor to inform the Ladies and
Gentlemen of this town, that he will open a
CONCERT, on the PIANO FORTE, on
Tuesday evening next at Union-Hall—the
following SONGS,

The Prize of the Bastille. [Composed by
Mr. Labarre.]

A French Song, with variations,
The March of the God of Love,
One Concerto,
Ma chère amie,
Ca Ira,
And a great variety of other Songs.

TICKETS for Ladies and Gentlemen
15—
for Children 9 pence, to be sold at
BLUNT & MASON's Book-Store—Doors
open at 6 o'clock.

Newburyport, Nov. 14.

Mr. DUROSIER
HAS the honor to in-

ADVERTISEMENT FROM THE IMPARTIAL HERALD

11:14, 1794

(Essex Institute)

During the season of 1796-1797 he was the musical director at the Federal Street Theatre, Boston.⁴⁶ His brilliant career was cut short by his death at the age of 39 at the end of December 1797.⁴⁷

Following the November 18th concert, La Barre disappeared from the local news. At the end of January, 1795, he as suddenly reappeared and proposed to open a music school "at his house." The advertising in the *Impartial Herald* on January 20, 1795 (repeated on the 23rd and 27th) tells us all that we know of the school:

Mr. Trille Labarre, Professor and Composer of Music, and instructor of the Duchess of Orleans, Princess Liniski, Princess of Salmack, and general instructor of Music to all the Princes and Princesses, who were lovers of Music, at the courts of the principal cities, where he has travelled in Europe — PROPOSES to open a school (agreeably to the request of a number of gentlemen and ladies of this town) at his house — where he will teach Vocal and instrumental MUSIC, viz. Piano Forte, Spinet, Spanish and English Guitar, Flute and Violin. He will open his school on Monday next, from 10 in the morning until 12, for the Ladies; and from 6 to 8 in the evening for the Gentlemen. He will also keep on Friday. Price 6 Dollars per Quarter — Two Dollars at entrance. Those who are desirous of taking their Lessons at their own houses, will pay 8 Dollars per Quarter, and 2 at entrance. Those persons who are desirous of singing may apply at Mr. MYCALL'S Printing-Office. Newburyport, Jan. 20.

Soon after the proposed opening of his school, Trille Labarre announced a concert for February 19th, 1795 at the First Society's Meeting House.⁴⁸ "We hear that a number of pieces of *Sacred Music* will be performed in the afternoon of Thursday next [the 19th], on the Organ (aided by the Singers) in the Meeting House of the First Society in this town at three o'clock, and that a Contribution will then take place, for the benefit of Mr. LABARRE." Who the "Singers" were, is conjecture; possibly the choir of the First Society, more likely the members of Labarre's music school. The concert had more than slight merit to have called forth the

46 *Ibid.*, 1:25, 1797; Sonneck: *Early Opera in America*.

47 Obit. *Boston Gazette*, 1:1, 1798.

48 I.H., 2:17, 1795.

review or notice which it did in the *Impartial Herald* on the 20th. Yet Trille Labarre's performance "on the Organ (aided by the Singers)" merited a warm and gracious mention in the editorial column of the newspaper. "Yesterday afternoon a number of pieces of Sacred Music were performed in the Meeting-House of the First Society of this Town. — The performance was superior to any ever heard here — The Fair Sex performed with admiration, and the easy manner in which Mr. Labarre went through several parts, deserve universal applause. — A respectable audience was highly gratified." The reviewer of the concert, singling out the "Fair Sex" for especial commendation, leads the writer to believe that the "Singers" were from Labarre's school, — high commendation for his teaching since the school had been open only a short while, — and not the First Society's choir which had mixed voices. It might be wondered what "the easy manner in which Mr. Labarre went through several parts" meant. Through several parts of the program? Through several parts of a musical play in concert form? Would he have dared to have done this in a meeting house? And if he dared, was this the reason that we hear no more of him in Newburyport? This speculation is idle since the review tells us that "A respectable audience was highly gratified." The first professional concert artist was accepted here, and was well liked. He "deserves," as the review says, "universal applause."

After Trille La Barre there were no more concerts for some three years, no theatre either, but a great number of exhibitions of wide variety. Monstrosities, common in the larger towns and cities, had few showings in Newburyport. Between Emma Leach in 1774 and the Dwarf Child in 1797 one lone instance was found. A monstrous ewe lamb, born on Theodore A. Stickney's farm in Newbury, was exhibited at the Town House for the curious, from 10 A.M. on April 3, 1795 and all day on the 4th.⁴⁹ Though the ewe had but "two tails and eight legs", some local man with showman tactics had the courage to charge "four 1/2 pence and children 2 pence" for a sight of it.

Excitement ran high on the morning of May 19th, 1795, (I. H.) and justly so, for the "noble Animal", the *Beautiful*

49 *Ibid.*, 4:3, 1795.

Newburyport, May 2. e.p.t.f.



TO THE CURIOUS.

A BEAUTIFUL AFRICAN
L I O N,

To be seen every day in the week, Sundays excepted, during his continuance in town at one of the out Buildings in Mr. DEXTER's yard.

THIS noble Animal is upwards of three feet high, measures 7 feet from nostrils to tail; is of a beautiful dun colour, five years old, and uncommonly strong built. His legs and tail are as thick as those of a common sized Ox; he was caught in the woods of Goree, in Africa, when a Whelp, and brought from thence to New-York. He is as tame as any domestic Animal whatever, and is really worth the contemplation of the curious.—Price of admittance, *Nine Pence, each person.*

ADVERTISEMENT FROM THE IMPARTIAL HERALD

5:19, 1795

(Newburyport Public Library)

African Lion had come to Newburyport. A lion, and probably this same one, had been on exhibition in Boston from August, 1794,⁵⁰ until the middle of March 1795,⁵¹ with the same publicity, lacking, unfortunately, the charming woodcut, as was used in the Newburyport advertising. When spring came, the lion and his owner set out for the summer tour, stopping first in Salem, Massachusetts⁵² for a long visit. Then a leisurely progress north, with frequent stops until he settled down for a two weeks stay in one of the outbuildings in the rear of Timothy Dexter's house on State street.

Illustrated with a bemused woodcut of a charming and benign appearing king of beasts, the *Impartial Herald* on May 19, 1795 carried the news.

TO THE CURIOUS.
A BEAUTIFUL AFRICAN
LION,

To be seen every day in the week, Sundays excepted, during his continuance in town at one of the out Buildings in Mr. Dexter's yard.

This noble Animal is upward of three feet high, measures 7 feet from nostrils to tail; is of a beautiful dun colour, five years old, and uncommonly strong built. His legs and tail are as thick as those of a common sized Ox; he was caught in the woods of Goree, in Africa, when a Whelp, and brought from thence to New-York. He is as tame as any domestic Animal whatever, and is really worth the contemplation of the curious. — Price of admittance, Nine Pence, each person.

It was not strange to have the lion exhibit in Mr. Dexter's yard. Lord Timothy, as he called himself and as the town derisively called him, was one of the great eccentrics of Newburyport. He had grown comfortably rich since his leather dressing days at his shop, the "Sign of the Deer", on the corner of Green and Merrimack Streets⁵³ from fortunate business deals in Continental Currency, shipping and real estate. Having recently bought the Nathaniel Tracy

50 C. C., 8:6, 1794.

51 *Ibid.*, 3:18, 1795.

52 *Salem Gazette*, 4:7, 14, 21, 28, 1795.

53 *E. J.*, 4:5, 1776.

house on State Street, a mansion of some size and prestige,⁵⁴ he attempted to revive its past grandeur. The town would have none of his delusions. His native ego unreined by his wealth and goaded by his success, his social ambitions stifled in the bud, perhaps it was Timothy Dexter himself who arranged to have the exhibition in his yard to draw the people there.⁵⁵

Today the Tracy House is the Newburyport Public Library. The grandeur of the interior,⁵⁶ the bibulous echoes of Dexter are gone. The front and side lines of the house remain as they were, standing three stories of red brick. The yard was extensive, stretching to Green Street and contained gardens, orchards and outbuildings.⁵⁷ And here in one of these outbuildings, the lion, wondered at by the curious, roared and slept out his stay.

Though the lion was advertised "as tame as any domestic Animal", one would feel more comfortable if there were some mention of a cage. The following summer, a lion with the same advertising and identical cut of benign countenance was exhibited in New York City.⁵⁸ There, the exhibitor carefully advertised that the "proprietor has provided a cage in which the lion moves at large, and exhibits him to the greatest advantage." Had some mishap occurred in the meanwhile to have caused the owner to advertise the cage? It is also interesting to compare the Newburyport advertising of the lion with what appeared in the *Minerva*⁵⁹ to note the growth of the "noble Animal".

The lion remained in town at "Nine Pence, each Person" until the end of May.⁶⁰ On June 20th, 1795, the *Oracle of the Day* urged the citizens of Portsmouth, to go see the king of beasts.

Perhaps one of the most outstanding theatrical events in the 18th century Newburyport was the appearance of Mr. Maginnis, "the celebrated Mr. Maginnis — From Saddler's Wells, London." This phrase seems to be his biography,

54 See *Ould Newbury*, pp. 555 ff for an account.

55 See Marquand's *Lord Timothy Dexter*, p. 151.

56 *Ould Newbury*, pp. 555 ff.

57 *Ibid.*, p. 560.

58 Odell: *Annales*, I:422.

59 N. Y. C., 8:31, 1796.

60 Last adv. I. H., 5:26, 1795.

at Two last Nights.

THIS EVENING,
WILL BE EXHIBITED,
At UNION HALL,

—By the celebrated Mr. MAGINNIS—

From Saddler's Wells, London (equal, if not superior, to the famous JONAS), who has had the honor to perform repeatedly before the Nobility and Gentry of Great-Britain, with universal applause,

*A GRAND
Medley of Entertainments.*

ACT I.
Consists of a number of surprising
Philosophical Experiments,
astonishing to the eyes of the spectators.

ACT II.
He will perform his curious Transparency of the

*Broken Bridge,
OR THE*

Disappointed Traveller.

Likewise will be introduced the merry
humours of the

Old unfortunate Beggar.

ACT III.
Will be presented the *Mournful Tragedy*
of the

Babes in the Woods.

ACT IV.
He will perform his curious

Prussian Fantoccina,

By a grand set of Artificial Wax-Work-
Comedians from Rome, in Italy.

Scene I. The merry humours of
ROGER DE COVERLY.—The surprising
LANCASHIRE WITCH.—A
Country Girl will dance a Jig as natural
as life. Also,

A grand Representation of a
Court of Foreign Kings, Queens, and
Princesses. Also,

The astonishing Italian Scaramouch will dance a Fandango, and, at the
same time, put his body in twenty different
shapes.

ADVERTISEMENT FROM THE POLITICAL GAZETTE

10:1, 1795

(Harvard)

and, so far as the author has been able to learn, these Newburyport exhibitions in October 1795, were his first shows in the United States.⁶¹

We meet Mr. Maginnis for the first time in Newburyport on October 1, 1795, advertising his "Two last Nights." How many exhibitions he had given previous to October 1st, we have no way of knowing. Maginnis claimed in his newspaper publicity⁶² that he was "equal, if not superior, to the famous JONAS." This statement, if true, was a bold one, for Jonas, performing at his home in Houndsditch, London, during the 1760's and 70's had some renown as a sleight of hand artist. He is reputed to have earned 10 guineas a day and had to be engaged two weeks in advance for his private performances.⁶³ Maginnis also claimed in his advertising that he had played "repeatedly before the Nobility and Gentry of Great-Britain, with universal applause."

The exhibition in Union Hall on October 1st, "A Grand Medley of Entertainments." opened with "a number of surprising Philosophical Experiments, astonishing to the eyes of the spectators." There was no explanation what these "Philosophical Experiments" were in the Newburyport advertising; but, since his first Boston program on December 15, 1795,⁶⁴ opened with the same heading for the first act, and was fully described in the advertising, its quotation here will show the nature of his surprise and wonder in sleight of hand.

Mr. Maginnis will commence with his magic Sheet of Paper, which he will transform into a variety of different shapes, really surprising. He will perform a number of astonishing deceptions with his Goblets and magic Balls. He will let any lady or gentleman draw whatever Card

61 He had appeared in Halifax at Noonan's Tavern in 1794, according to A. R. Jewett's article on the Halifax Theatre (Bound, undated pamphlet in the Harvard Theatre Collection). With performances similar to those in Newburyport, Maginnis advertised that there would be different public exhibitions each evening, and that he would perform in private homes if engaged to do so.

62 P. G., 10:1, 1795.

63 See Frost: *Lives of the Conjurors*, p. 122; Gentleman's Magazine (London), Aug. 1904, p. 200, Ann Hulton's letter to Mrs. Lightbody.

64 *Federal Orrery*, 12:14, 1795.

they please, and lay it upon the crown of his head, he will immediately tell the name of the card — he will borrow a piece of money from the company, and let it be marked; and after putting it in a small pepper-box, and keeping his hands asunder, the piece of money shall instantly fly out of the box into a small cup — and he will let any of the company draw a card, and put it under his foot, and, at the word of command, it shall be changed — he will borrow a piece of money, and put it into a handkerchief, and let any gentleman press the handkerchief with a candlestick, he will command the piece of money to pass through the table — any gentleman may draw a card, and shuffle it into the pack, and put the pack into his pocket, and he will pull out the card the gentleman drew. — he will swallow eggs, as quick as thought — any person in the company may draw a card, keep it in possession, mr. Maginnis will produce a handfull of hickory nuts, and any gentleman in company may crack one of them, and they shall find the name of the card in the kernel of the nut. With a variety of other astonishing philosophical experiments and deceptions, too numerous to insert.

Performing in a small room, in close proximity to the spectators, Mr. Maginnis was indeed a very clever sleight of hand artist. The description of his philosophical experiments and deceptions has this non-magician on the edge of his seat in the "commodious Room in Theatre alley," Boston.

Act Two in the Newburyport program was the "curious Transparency of the Broken Bridge, or the Disappointed Traveller". This was a shadow play, the *Ombres Chinoises*, the Chinese Shades. The early shadow plays were relatively simple. Jointed cardboard figures, hand manipulated by wires or sticks, were silhouetted against a white translucent curtain. The equipment for these shadow shows was easy to carry, handle and set up for a performance. Four poles supported the four curtain walls, the front curtain being translucent. Inside this square was a lantern, before which the figures were animated. The "Broken Bridge" was a shadow play of "hit" proportions that had been played over the years both in England and in this country. (See Paul McPharlin: *Puppet Theatre in America*.) During Act Two

there was "introduced the merry humours of the Old unfortunate Beggar."

Act Three "presented the Mournful Tragedy of the Babes in the Woods." Based on the traditional fairy tale, this story had been given for years both as a shadow and puppet show. In this performance it seems to have been the former, as in the next act, the puppets are introduced for the first time in the program. In Act Four, Maginnis told that he "will perform his curious Prussian Fantoccina", called Prussian to denote their excellence rather than their nationality, as the English considered the Germans to be masters of puppetry in the 18th century.⁶⁵ The "Prussian Fantoccina" were performed "By a grand set of Artificial Wax-Work-Commedians from Rome, in Italy. Scene I. The merry humours of *Roger de Coverly*. — The surprising *Lancashire Witch*. — A Country Girl will dance a Jig as natural as life. Also, A grand Representation of a Court of Foreign Kings, Queens, and Princesses. Also, The astonishing Italian Scaramouch will dance a Fandago, and, at the same time, put his body in twenty different shapes."

Mr. Maginnis, realizing that the program was too long, cut his subsequent performances. The following night, October 2,⁶⁶ he repeated his "Philosophical Experiments", followed by a new production, "the Curious Magic Piece from Rome, in Italy — wherein will be displayed above an hundred figures as large as life." To add variety to his program, Mr. Maginnis "introduce[d] a comic song, called The Country Clown's description of *London*." The Third Act on October 2 was, if repetition be a criterion, one of his favorites; The "Grand Representation of a Sea-Engagement, Wherein will be displayed the two fleets drawn up in line of battle, attended with the Cannonading, some sinking, others blown up: Likewise a just appearance of the Sea, with the Fishes sporting in the waves. The whole to conclude with a Grand View of Neptune, God of the Ocean, attended with his Tritons, and the beautiful Mermaid." This production, as elaborate as the manager could make it, combined dioramas, mechanized, scaled figures and properties, such as ships, castles, ornate scenery, sea dwellers and

65 McPharlin, p. 67.

66 P. G., 10:1.

mythological personages. The cannonading was real enough, for gunpowder was used in the guns, and flares were in common use in spectacles, both in live productions and in puppet shows. The use of gunpowder and fireworks on the stage was the cause of many theatre fires in the early years. When the Federal Street Theatre, Boston, burned,⁶⁷ the Newburyport *Herald*⁶⁸ copied a long news item from the *Columbian Centinel*. Though the fire was in fact caused by an over-heated stove in one of the dressing rooms, "Rumor, ever active and almost forever erroneous, readily attributed it [the fire] to a rehearsal of the fire-works to be exhibited in the pantomime of *Don Juan*."

Aside from the marvels of Mr. Maginnis' exhibitions, one of the interesting things about him as a manager was his concern for the physical comfort of his audiences. Though not the first, he was a pioneer. Earlier in Boston, one concert manager advertised that he would sell no more seats than his concert hall would hold; another advertised the exact number of seats he would offer for sale for a concert. This last instance may have been done for the comfort of the audience, or, it may have been to forestall ticket speculation, a practice by no means new to the present day. The time was long ahead when the audience would be comfortable both in summer and in winter. Little, if any thought, was given to ventilation and heat in the old theatres. Mr. Maginnis was one of the first showmen not only to show an interest but to do something. In Newburyport, he advertised⁶⁹ that he would make the room in Union Hall "as cool, and the audience as well accomodated as possible"; while the following December in Boston,⁷⁰ he would take great care "to render the Room as warm, and the audience as well accomodated as possible."

The scaled prices in the seating arrangement was not common, FRONT SEATS, half a dollar. BACK SEATS, quarter of a dollar." For sleight of hand and for puppets one had the better view, sitting near the performer, thus the prices took on a premium. In connection with the price of admissions, it is strange the way Mr. Maginnis shifts in his advertising from dollars to shillings in this one engagement.

67 February 2, 1798.

68 N. H., 2:6.

69 P. G., 10:1, 1795.

70 *Federal Orrery*, 12:14, 1795.

On Tuesday Evening,
WILL BE EXHIBITED,
At UNION HALL,

—By the celebrated Mr. MAGINNIS—
From Saddler's Wells, London (equal,
if not superior, to the famous JO-
NAS) who has had the honor to per-
form repeatedly before the Nobility
and Gentry of Great-Britain, with
universal applause.

A GRAND
Medley of Entertainments.

ACT I.

Will be presented the *Mourful Trag-
edy* of the

Babes in the Woods.

ART. II.

Will be performed the
Curious Magic Piece

From Rome, in Italy—wherein will be
displayed above an hundred figures
as large as life.

Mr. Maginnis will introduce
a COMIC SONG, called,

*The Country Clown's descrip-
tion of LONDON.*

ART. III.

To conclude with a grand representa-
tion of a

Sea-Engagement,

Wherein will be displayed the two
fleets drawn up in line of battle, atten-
ded with cannonading, some sinking,
others blown up: Likewise, a just ap-
pearance of the Sea, with the Fishes
sporting in the waves.

Doors to be opened at half
past Six o'clock, and to commence at half
past Seven — FRONT SEATS 1/6,
BACK SEATS 1/3.

††† Tickets may be had at
the Place of Performance.

Great care will be taken to ren-
der the Room as cool, and the audience as
well accommodated as possible.

Newbury, Oct. 3

ADVERTISEMENT FROM THE IMPARTIAL HERALD

10:3, 1795

(Essex Institute)

Mr. Maginnis,
RETURNS his sincere
thanks to the Public in general, for
the crowded houses his EXHIBITION
has been honoured with. And thinks
proper to Perform this night and to-mor-
row night, being the last nights of perform-
ing, positively.

FOR THIS NIGHT,
At UNION HALL,
Will be performed, a number of
Deceptions,
also the
Broken Bridge,
to conclude with a representation of the
Siege of Gibraltar,

On Friday Evening,
Will be presented, the
Comic Enterlude
of
Whittington and his Cat.
Likewise will be introduced the
Curious Magic Piece;
From Rome in Italy.—to conclude with
the
Siege of Gibraltar.

PRICES—Grown people 1/6—Children
Nine-pence.
Newburyport, Oct. 8.

ADVERTISEMENT FROM THE POLITICAL GAZETTE
10:8, 1795
(Harvard)

On October 1, he used dollars; on the 3rd and 8th, he used shillings and pence. The new currency appears to have been too much for him. Tickets were on sale at Union Hall, doors opening "at half past Six o'clock, and [the performance] to commence at half past Seven."

Though Mr. Maginnis had advertised his last two performances for Thursday and Friday, October 1 and 2, two good houses easily and speedily persuaded him to advertise on October 3, (I. H.) that he would exhibit again on Tuesday next, the 6th at Union Hall. This program was a combination of the most popular portions of the preceding two exhibits, presenting "Babes in the Woods . . . the Curious Magic Piece . . . a Comic Song, . . . The Country Clown's description of London. . . . [and the] Sea-Engagement." The "Comic Song" was sung by Mr. Maginnis. At this performance the admissions were changed from half a dollar to 1/6 shillings, from a quarter of a dollar to /9; the performance time was still at seven thirty.

This last exhibition, like the former ones, was a great success. Mr. Maginnis, cheered by such fine business, was delighted. On October 8th, (P. G.) he advertised a card of thanks to his public and an announcement of two more exhibits at Union Hall on Thursday and Friday, October 8 and 9.

"Mr. Maginnis,

Returns his sincere thanks to the Public in general, for the crowded houses his EXHIBITION has been honoured with. And thinks proper to Perform this night and to-morrow night, being the last nights of performing, positively."

On the 8th he performed "a number of Deceptions, also the Broken Bridge, to conclude with a representation of the Siege of Gibralter[.]" On the final night of this amazingly long engagement, Friday, October 9th, he presented a new production, "the Comic Enterlude [sic] of Whittington [sic] and his Cat, — the Curious Magic Piece, — to conclude with the Siege of Gibralter." The prices of admission for the last night were still in shillings and pence.

After Newburyport, Mr. Maginnis was in Portsmouth for a time;⁷¹ later in Boston from mid December, 1795,⁷²

71 N. H. *Gazette*, 10:27, 1795.

72 *Fed. Orrery*, 12:14.

through the middle of February, 1796,⁷³ with the same type exhibition that he gave in Newburyport. From February through the middle of May, 1796, he played small roles at the Federal Street Theatre, Boston (Boston newspapers, *passim*).

Mr. Perrette came on November 10, 1795 to show the first automaton in Newburyport, the "Self-Moving Carriage,"⁷⁴ Automata were very popular in the early days of the American theatre, as may be judged from their many exhibitions. Most of the exhibits in America, the Learned Swan, the Grand Turk or the Automatic Chess Player were of European make where the craze for these exhibits came much earlier. (see Conrad William Cooke: *Automata Old and New.*)

Self-moving Carriage.
Mr. Perrette,

Machinist from Paris, and other large towns in Europe, & Pensioner to the French Republic, has the pleasure of informing the public, that he has a self-moving CARRIAGE, which has been much applauded by the numerous spectators who have viewed it. An Eagle Automaton, suitably comparisoned, draws the Carriage forward with as much rapidity, as though it were drawn by horses; the Driver, seated in the carriage, holds the reigns, and directs the course of this extraordinary Carriage.

Mr. Perrette, intending to exhibit this wonderful piece of machanism [sic], a few times in this town, respectfully invites the Ladies and Gentlemen to attend, and flatters himself that they will be highly gratified.

The exhibit could be seen, beginning at 6 o'clock, at Moses Brown's "new Brick House". All evidence points to the building still standing on the water side of Merrimack Street at the foot of Green. The gambrel-roofed "new Brick House" is used today as an electrical shop. Two stories high, brick walls 18 inches thick, ceiling beams in the cellar 2 feet wide, shows the use to which the building was first used, a storehouse or counting-room of Moses Brown, merchant. The "House" means building, not a dwelling house as we use the term. Moses Brown lived

73 C. C., 2:10.

74 I. H., 11:10, 1795.

Self-moving Carriage.

Mr. Perrette,

MACHINIST from *Paris*,
& Pensioner to the French Republic, has
the pleasure of informing the public,
that he has a self-moving CARRI-
AGE, which has been much applauded
by the numerous spectators who have
viewed it. An Eagle Automaton, sui-
tably comparisoned, draws the Carriage
forward with as much rapidity, as
though it were drawn by horses; the
Driver, seated in the carriage, holds the
reins, and directs the course of this ex-
traordinary Carriage.

Mr. PERRETTE, intending to ex-
hibit this wonderful piece of macha-
nism, a few times in this town, respect-
fully invites the Ladies and Gentlemen
to attend, and flatters himself they will
be highly gratified.

The Exhibition will be at Mr. Mo-
ses Brown's new Brick House, to be-
gin at 6 o'clock.

Tickets at 1/6. for Ladies and Gen-
tlemen, and nine pence for Children,
may be had at Mr. Hoyt's Tavern,
sign of the ship, and at the place of
performance.

ADVERTISEMENT FROM THE IMPARTIAL HERALD

11:10, 1795

(Essex Institute)

on State Street in the Dalton house which he bought in 1791.⁷⁵

"Tickets at 1/6 for Ladies and Gentlemen, and nine pence for Children," were sold "at Mr. Hoyt's Tavern, sign of the ship, and at the place of performance." This tavern, on the south side of Boardman Street, a few houses south of Merrimack Street, was a popular and reputable inn, managed by Joseph and Dolly Hoyt. It was a large, long, clapboard building with a gambrel roof; today it is used as a dwelling house. This is the only time that the writer has seen the tavern called the "sign of the ship", but it was a natural name; the Hoyt men were captains and mast-makers; the shipyards were close by along the river's edge.

Mr. Perrette was a man of initiative. He first appeared in Boston in 1795, advertising in the *Independent Chronicle* on August 27th, that he was a "Blacksmith from Paris" who made "Springs for Chaises, and other Carriages, — and every other kind of Blacksmith's Work for Carriages — and every other Work in his Line, which requires ingenuity and address." He wanted work and could "be seen at Major Hawe's Chaise-works, Quaker-Lane." Having some idle time, Mr. Perrette went sightseeing. One day he dropped by to see Mr. Maison's exhibit of automata among which was the self-moving carriage.⁷⁶ Of a mechanical turn of mind, Mr. Perrette probably was delighted to repeat his visits to Mr. Maison's exhibits. He soon grew to realize that his future prosperity centered in Blanchard's Carriage rather than his own springs. In talking to Maison, he fore-saw a prosperous and pleasant life as a travelling showman, and hadn't Mr. Perrette come from France to better his lot? By October 14th (C. C.) Mr. Maison was advertising in Boston that the "Last Exhibition of the Self-Moving Carriage" would take place on the 17th, the date on which he was to give up the automaton to the new owner, who, it would seem, was Mr. Perrette. Within three weeks, on

75 *Ould Newbury*, p. 633.

76 This automaton had been on exhibition all summer of 1795 (C. C., 6:11, 1795, *passim*) by Mr. Blanchard who first included it in a list of automata on July 4th (C. C.). By August 30th (C. C., 8:30) Maison had bought out Blanchard, as the latter was too busy with his balloon ascensions, and continued the exhibit.

November 4th, Mr. Perrette had opened in Salem, Massachusetts for a two day engagement.⁷⁷ Mr. Maison, meanwhile, continued to exhibit his mechanical wonders. When he came to Salem in December of 1795,⁷⁸ in advertising his automata, he gave all credit of their invention to Mr. Blanchard, "This Philosopher (who is likewise the inventor of the Self-Moving Carriage that has appeared in this town)"

Mr. Perrette rose to the occasion in his new line of work; no longer did he work under the aegis of the "Blacksmith from Paris", but the "Machinist from Paris." A week after the Salem stand he was in Newburyport.

After Messrs. Maginnis and Perrette in October and November, 1795, we had no entertainments that warranted reporting in the newspapers until June, 1796. Then a deluge of balancing.

First to come was a Mr. Herenton on Monday evening, June 13th, 1796, presenting his "Genteel Entertainment of Activity by the Real BALANCE MASTER, (from Saddlers-wells.) [sic] . . . at the Hall on Deer-Island"⁷⁹ He admitted in his publicity that "his equal has never been seen in America" and that he had "performed in the most Capital Cities in Europe and America." Mr. Herenton described his extraordinary feats of activity in the *Impartial Herald*, and he does seem remarkable.

He balances plates, swords, pipes, keys, nails, tables, chairs, glasses, peacock's feathers, and straws. He walks backward and forward in full swing on the wire. He holds a wine glass in his mouth, on the edge of the glass the bow of the key, on the top of the key a dollar, on the edge of a dollar, the point of a sword, on the hilt of a sword a plate, turning round in different ways on the wire. Lies on his back on the wire. Sits in a chair, rises in the chair, and balances [sic] in different ways on the wire, swings a hoop over his head with a glass of water in it, without spilling a drop on the wire. Walks about and turns round, and plays a pair of caskanets [sic] on the wire in full swing. Balances a peacock's feather in different ways. Does a curious trick with a dish, and a glass and an egg, and a pewter plate.

77 Salem *Gazette*, 11:3, 1795.

78 *Ibid.*, 12:15.

79 I. H., 6:11, 1796.

So much for the balancing. The activity on the SLACK ROPE built to a tremendous climax! “[He] turns backward and forward and forms himself into different shapes. Hangs by one leg in full swing. Hangs by his toes in full swing. Stands on his feet on the rope and turns round at the rate of one hundred times a minute.”

The balancing and the activity were not all! “Also will be performed, the wonderful Chinese Shades, Representing wild beasts, such as a Lion, a Tyger, a Camel, an Elephant, a Fox running away with a goose, a Horse. Two Sailors dancing a jig, Harlequin, creeping into a bottle, and Bartholomew-fair. Besides many other things too numerous to be mentioned.” All this for 1/6 shillings! The performances began at eight o’clock, the tickets were to be had at the tavern on Deer Island.

This tremendous Mr. Herenton talked a fine performance. Let us hope that he, in part, lived up to what he advertised. Was Mr. Herenton the Mr. Harrington, 18th century spelling being what it is, who was at the New Exhibition Room in the Board Alley Theatre, Boston from the middle of January through April 1st, 1793?⁸⁰ The reading of the advertising is similar; for example on January 14, 1793, “Equilibriums on the Slack Wire. Mr. Harrington, who will go in full swing, and ballance [sic] pipes, swords, &c.&c.”⁸¹ He was in company with the Placide’s, he could not have been too bad.

The Hall on Deer Island was in a tavern which stood at the southern end of the tiny island three miles up the river from Newburyport. The house, originally built by the proprietors of the Essex-Merrimack bridge in 1792, as a home for the toll-gatherer,⁸² soon became a tavern as it was on the main highway to the north.⁸³

80 C. C., 1:12, 19, 26; 3:30.

81 *Ibid.*, 1:12.

82 Currier: *Hist. of Newburyport*, II, footnote, p. 122.

83 It was here in 1793, that Timothy Dexter delivered “a truly Ciceronian speech” on July 4th (I. H., 7:6, 1793). Sarah Emery spoke of the inn as a scene of many parties “when a supper and dance were enjoyed” (*Reminiscences*, p. 77). Timothy Dwight (*Travels*, I, p. 437) praised the beauty of the location and the “convenient house of entertainment.”

After the Civil War, the building was converted from a tenement to a private home, moved back from the highway and remodeled within and without.⁸⁴ Today it is still a private home, repaired and beautifully landscaped. There is a 1793 engraving showing from a distance upstream, a view of the bridge, island and house. Through the center of the house, a very wide hall extends, on either side of which are large rooms where Herenton, and others who were to follow him, presented their balancing. In the hall there is a distinctive and unusual stairway that leads to the second and third floors of this old tavern with a gambrel roof. The large, gracious, panelled dining room looks today as it may have looked when Timothy Dwight stopped there.

"Don Pedro, the real *Balance Master*, from Italy" appeared in Newburyport on Thursday, August 18, 1796,⁸⁵ to give a performance of "Surprising Feats of Activity, In the Assembly-Room." Don Pedro — formerly Peter Cloris or Clores, was a widely-travelled balance artist, activist or acrobat in the American theatres and exhibition rooms during the last decade or more of the 18th century. A member of Donegani's company, he had played New York, Philadelphia and Boston. His advertising in Newburyport on the 18th was short since "particulars of the whole performance [were to be] express'd in handbills of the day." He respectfully told the people of Newburyport that he would perform "his unparelleled [sic] performances on the Wire and Rope, likewise some very surprising Tumbling Feats — Balances his Body on his arm and turns round, &c. &c." Tickets, 2/3 shillings, children 1/6 could be had at the place of performance. The Assembly Room was in a temple-like building of pure Gothic style⁸⁶ called the Assembly House, built in 1774 or 1775, on the southwesterly side of Temple Street.⁸⁷ This room some fifty by forty feet, with reception rooms, a cellar of wine closets, was "equipped as a 'Temple of Terpsichore' for the delectation of some of Newburyport's notables, male and female, before the War

84 *Ould Newbury*, pp. 228-229.

85 P. G., 8:18, 1796.

86 Adams' MSS., pp. 8, 9, at *Hist. Soc. of Old Newbury*.

87 Currier: *History of Newburyport*, II, p. 59.

Genteel & surprizing Feats of Activity,

At UNION-HALL, NEWBURYPORT.

Don Pedro Cloris.

Who has performed in Paris, Lyons, and several other large cities in France—likewise in Philadelphia, New-York and Boston, with universal applause—has the honor to inform the citizens of Newburyport, That on

WEDNESDAY EVENING—AUGUST 14.

WILL BE PERFORMED, &c. &c.

Curious feats of Activity, on the Slack Wire, AND Extraordinary BALANCING.

Feats on the WIRE.
1. Walks backward and forward on the Wire.
2. Lies down on the Wire, rises and plays with three apples, throwing and catching them on three separate turns.
3. Continually plays with two flags on the Wire.
4. Jumps through a hoop, on the Wire.
5. Balances a hoop, with a short stick, rattling on his Mouth.
6. Balances a sword and pipe on his Mouth.

7. Holds in his mouth a wine-glass, on the edge of the glass a dollar, on the edge of the dollar a sword, on the hilt of the sword a plate, all running round jointly.
8. Balances a long board on his forehead, and walks with equal dexterity.
9. Plays a Campano Tambourine and Violin.
10. Plays the Cakidion in full swing on the Wire.
And performs a variety of

TUMBLING FEATS.

Dances the Spanish Fandango, blindfolded, over thirteen eggs, placed in different situations, and, including the drummed, fingers amongst them, without breaking.

To which will be added, a great variety of surprizing Performances on the

SLACK ROPE.

1. Swings on the rope, and forms various attitudes. 2. Lies on his back in full swing. 3. Stands on his head and dances a Fandango. 4. Hangs by one leg in full swing. 5. Hangs by his feet in full swing. 6. Stands on the rope, and turns at the rate of an hundred times in a minute, and other feats, too numerous for a handbill.

Mr. Merriman, the CLOWN,

From the Royal Circus Riding School, London, who has performed in Philadelphia and N.Y.C., with great applause, will entertain the company with a number of droll, witty, comical performances, Strongs, and *out-of-the-way* Tricks and Foss.

g.v. Tickets of admission may be had at the place of performance—10cts. 15cts. Children 5cts.

4cts. Extra grand or better and performance begin at eight o'clock.

DON PEDRO, HANDBILL

Newburyport

of 1812.⁸⁸ After being used as a printing shop in the late 1780's by John Mycall, a church by the Baptists around 1800, the building was finally condemned by the town and torn down in 1815.⁸⁹

Don Pedro may also have performed in Newburyport the preceding evening, August 17th at Union Hall. There is a rare Newburyport handbill in possession of the New York Public Library of Don Pedro Cloris presenting his "Genteel & surprizing Feats of Activity At Union-Hall, Newburyport. . . . Wednesday Evening . . . August 17" Evans in his *Bibliography* has recorded the bill as # 23263, dating it 1791. Since August 17 fell on Wednesday both in 1791 and 1796, there is a bare chance that this bill might go with the 1796 engagement and not that of 1791.

In Boston during May and June of 1789, (Mass. *Centinel* passim) Peter Cloris was with the Donegani troupe. He was still with Donegani in New York City in the spring of 1792, as Peter Cloris or Clores.⁹⁰ Not until the end of September 1792,⁹¹ does Odell note the expanding name of Don Peter Clores in the New York City advertising. Small tissue of argument, but would Peter Clores, who did not become Don Peter until the late summer of 1792 in a theatre center, would he be Don Pedro in the provinces a year and a half earlier? Isn't Pedro another enlargement of Don Peter?

No advertisements were found of Peter Cloris nor Don Pedro in Boston, Salem or Portsmouth in 1791. There is no news in the local papers of a visit in 1791. But in 1796 he was in Newburyport, in Portsmouth,⁹² and in Portland, Maine in November or December of that year.⁹³

There is no contemporary mention of Union Hall in Newburyport before the Solomons' appearance there on April 22, 1794. From this date, the name Union Hall appeared with steadfast regularity in the advertising of dancing schools, public meetings and the assemblies.

It is unfortunate that the day books and ledgers of John

88 Adams' MSS., pp. 8, 9.

89 Currier: *History of Newburyport*, II, pp. 59, 60.

90 Odell, I: 307.

91 *Ibid.*, I: 308.

92 N. H. *Gazette*, 8:6, 13, 20, 1796.

93 Sonneck: *Early Opera in America*, p. 152.

Mycall whom Evans has claimed was the printer of the handbill have not been preserved. A check into their pages might solve the problem.

In this program of August 17, [1791?] Don Pedro showed his extraordinary skill on the "Slack Wire", performing tricks, juggling, playing the "Campano-Tamborine and Violin . . . and Caskinets [sic] in full swing on the Wire." In "Tumbling Feats" he danced the "Spanish Fandango, blindfolded, over thirteen eggs, placed in different situations, and, imitating the drunkard, staggers amongst them, without breaking [them].". On the "Slack Rope", his performances, identical to Mr. Herenton's earlier in the summer, went the latter's just one better; Don Pedro, "Stands on his head and dances a hornpipe."! Second billing went to "Mr. Merryman, the Clown, From the Royal Circus Riding-School, London, who has performed in Philadelphia and N. York, with great applause [and entertained] the company with a number of droll, witty, comical, unaccountable, strange, and out-of-the-way Tricks and Feats." In June 1792, in New York City,⁹⁴ Peter Clores had Mr. Clumsey, the clown, to assist him. Both the 1791(?) handbill and the 1796 Newburyport advertising have Mr. Merryman as the clown. The handbill and the advertisements of the 18th and 20th tally in admission prices; neither advertisement tells the time of the performance, while the handbill that carried the details, does, "Doors open at Seven and performance begins at eight o'clock."

The 1791(?) handbill fits very nicely into the playing dates of 1796: on Wednesday the 17th at Union Hall in "Genteel & surprizing Feats of Activity", the 18th, "Surprising Feats of Activity" in the Assembly Room on Temple Street. The third performance on Friday, August 19th at Mr. Pearson's Assembly Room at Merrimack Bridge.⁹⁵ We were entertained here earlier in June by Mr. Herenton, for Pearson's Assembly Room is none other than the Hall at the Deer Island Tavern (now called Pearson's, since Ebenezer Pearson was the landlord from 1794⁹⁶ to 1798.⁹⁷

94 Odell: 1, 308.

95 P. G., 8:18, 1796.

96 I. H., 9:13, 1794.

97 *Newburyport Herald*, 5:4, 1798.

*Genteel and Surprising Feats
OF
ACTIVITY,*

ON MONDAY EVENING NEXT,
At the Hall on Deer Island,

Don Pedro,

The noted Balance

Master from Italy, who has performed
in Philadelphia, New-York, Boston, and
with unusual applause.

Most respectfully in-
forms the Ladies and Gentlemen of
Newburyport, that on Monday the
22d.

*Will be Performed,
ASTONISHING FEATS. ON THE
WIRE.*

He will play several
different Instrument of MUSIC on the
Wire, &c. &c.

*Tumbling and Postering,
BY*

*Don Pedro & Merryman
the Clown.*

A greater variety of
Feats performed on the ROPE, than
was ever attempted by any other Per-
son.

Tickets of admittance
to be had at the place of performance.
Price 2/3, Children 1/6.

N. B. Particulars of
the whole performance is Express'd in
a Hand-Bill, each day.

Thomas H. Balch.

ADVERTISEMENT FROM THE IMPARTIAL HERALD

For August 20, 1796

(Newburyport Public Library)

This Program was a repetition of the performance at the Assembly Room in Newburyport.

On Saturday, August 20th, Don Pedro advertised a third performance for the following Monday, the 22nd., "At the Hall on Deer Island." (I H) Opening the notice with his usual autobiographical data, "The noted Balance Master from Italy, who has performed in Philadelphia, New-York, Boston, and with unusual applause," he informed the ladies, gentlemen and children that, for 2/3 and 1/6, he would perform feats on the wire, tumbling and posturing, assisted by Merryman, the clown. And again he played "several different Instruments of Music on the Wire, &c. &c."

There is one detail of this last advertising on August 20th to give pause. Don Pedro had been playing split time in August 1796, in both Newburyport and Portsmouth. In the last named place he had performed with Merryman, the clown, at the Assembly Room, same entrance fee, same acts, on August 8 and 15th.⁹⁸ On the 20th, he advertised in the New Hampshire *Gazette*, that he would perform on Monday the 22nd! How could he have played in both places? Possibly he had arranged previously to play Portsmouth on those dates, not knowing the success he would find in Newburyport. It is also possible, in spite of the advertising in Newburyport on August 20th, that Don Pedro did not entertain on Deer Island, Monday the 22nd. The yellow fever had struck Newburyport during that summer; by the end of August there was great alarm⁹⁹ over its rapid spread, and the town was taking ample precautions. Dr. Bentley, visiting here on the first of September¹⁰⁰ found that Water Street¹⁰¹ had been closed off from the town by a chain stretched across the street and that only two men had the courage to remain at their business in that locality. Perhaps Don Pedro had fled, even though his houses had been crowded.

98 N. H. *Gazette*, 8:6, 13, 1796.

99 I. H., 8:30, 1796.

100 Bentley's Diary, II, p. 195.

101 It was believed that the fever had started from the wharf of Zachariah Atwood (Bentley, *Ibid.*); Atwood himself had died of the fever in July (obit. I. H., 7:23, 1796).

(To be Continued)

HARD CASH; OR A SALEM HOUSEWIFE IN THE EIGHTEEN TWENTIES

EDITED BY ELMA LOINES

INTRODUCTION

This extraordinary revelation of a housewife of Salem in letters to her husband in New York, of trying to get on with the ten dollars he left her and a few others collected from relatives and friends reminds one of a similar condition of affairs in England during the fourteenth century in the wool trade. There customers settled their bills once a year and the desperate merchants and producers hunted around for wealthy widows to marry so that they could pay their own bills.

Of course it has to be remembered that this was an era of depression for much of New England. The Erie Canal had been opened in 1825 and shipping, where harbors had silted up, as in Salem, and the building of vessels of deeper draft tended to drive shipowners and merchants either to Boston, or to New York. There was a regular exodus to the latter city, and many families like the Lows moved down bag and baggage after the husband became established there. The Mary Porter Low letters are from the collection of Virginia Wagner Low, now Mrs. Thornton Delahanty.

Seth Low, the father of twelve children, one of whom had died in infancy, and an importer and exporter of drugs, read the sign of the times. So he moved down to New York where he established an office at 22 Exchange Place early in 1828. He bought a block of land on Brooklyn Heights and proceeded to build a house for himself, and one for his brother, William Henry Low, who was to leave for Canton in May 1829, to be head of the house of Russell & Co., and who was to take his niece Harriet Low with him. This was to be for five years. Seth wished to provide for his return, which unfortunately never came about as he died of tuberculosis (*hasty consumption*, as it was then called), at Capetown on his way home. A short time later Seth was to build a classical school, and the first

Unitarian Church together with Salem friends. School-masters and minister were imported from the home town. As he was prepared to do all this it seems incredible that he should take his son Abbot, then seventeen and the only wage earner among his sons along with him. This left behind with his wife, a daughter of twenty, and nine other children down to one or two years of age to shift for themselves, provided with staples, such as sugar, flour, wood, etc., and ten dollars in ready cash. Mary Low must have been a good manager to get along, but she was plainly worried by the condition of her affairs and seems to have been accustomed to pay bills promptly, realizing that others needed cash as much as she.

She was very devoted to her husband and felt badly when he did not keep his promise to write weekly, though he found time to write to Mary Ann and Harriet, his eldest daughters. She seems to have had a cook, but according to Harriet's Journal written in Macao (1829-1834), she was a good cook herself and made pies and puddings also the famous Salem *fairy gingerbread* some of which was sent out to Francis when he went to sea, to cure his "consumption". He died later before reaching China. This was as thin as a wafer, was well spiced and continued to be made in families like my own of the third generation. The editor tasted it once in Brunswick, Maine, not many years ago.

In addition to these household duties, Mary made her husband's shirts of silk or cotton, mended his stockings and sent them on to him by friends, patched his coats and underwear, and did the same for the children at home. She tended the neighbor's sick children and their mothers, as nurses were scarce or non-existent, frequently sitting up all night with the patient.

Her diversions were few: letters received, news of relatives scattered about New England and New York, and harmless gossip about people with the neighbors. Whatever happened in town was soon known and passed on. The long absence from her husband with whom everything was accustomed to be discussed and planned for, was a great trial to her, but she only reproaches him gently when he doesn't write.

Her own people had been large landholders from the time

they had arrived in Governor Winthrop's vessel at Hingham in 1635. Her ancestor, John Porter, is thought to have commanded one of the ships. At any rate he owned large tracts of land around and in Hingham, and was deacon of the Ship Church for the nine years before he left for Salem. There he bought farms in five parishes for his sons and himself. His own in Topsfield is now owned by Mrs. James Duncan Phillips, whose late husband wrote delightful books about Salem shipping in three centuries, and had a fine library of Salem records. Porter graves are on the farm in the tiny old burial place. The Porters were representatives in the General Court and took an active part in civic life. Her mother's maternal ancestor was Captain Edward Allen of North Berwick, Scotland. He came to this country about 1750, and married Margaret Lockhart of North Carolina. Their daughter, Ruth Allen married Mary's father, Thomas Porter. Her brother was known as Deacon Elijah Porter. His daughter Ellen became engaged to a Scotsman whom she met in China, married him in Hong Kong, but later settled in England with her nine children. Fifteen of her grandchildren were in the First World War and Kipling described the exploits of one in a submarine in *The Fringes of the Fleet*.

The Seth Lows had lived on Federal Street and Crombie Street near Norman, from which latter house Harriet sailed for China to be a companion to her Aunt Abigail Knapp Low, also a Salem woman. They had gone to Salem at the time of their marriage.

After moving to Brooklyn in the autumn of 1829, one gathers from the China letters of her children, that she was the centre of the household and much beloved.

At the time of her death in 1872, when in her 87th year, her pastor Dr. F. A. Farley wrote: "Their marriage was from the first a happy one. . . . Her religion was the secret of her soul, so little display of it there was, so reticent was she of it towards others, so great and so real its inward power as a principle. . . . it made her hopeful and charitable towards all who differed from her. What a rich encouragement to a pastor's heart to see the power of the faith he preaches manifesting itself so convincingly!"

Seth Low's father, David Low, was captain of a vessel

which sailed to the West Indies. His mother was Hannah Haskell, whose ancestor had built about 1640, the house on Lincoln Road in West Gloucester (now Essex) where Seth was born. It now belongs again to a New York Haskell and is kept like a museum, with its fine collection of pewter and windsor chairs. The Lows took an important part in building up the Commonwealth and fought in the Revolution from Bunker Hill to Valley Forge. In 1690, David Low took part under Sir William Phipps in the siege of Louisburg. Seth's children went back to the sea and entered the China trade and remained in it from 1829-73; and one, Charles Porter Low, became a well-known clipper-ship captain, while Abbot founded a fleet of nine clippers and seven barks and barkentines.

People Referred to:

Mary Porter Low's brothers: Edward Allen Porter

Thomas Porter

Elijah Porter b. 1792

Seth Low's brothers & sisters: David, Abigail m. 1st. Mr. Ranlett, 2nd. Mr. Davis. Hannah m. Washington Eaton; Jonathan who changed his name to James Willis Low, m. 1st, Hannah Babson, 2nd. Ellen O. Richardson; Daniel m. Alice Orne, 2nd. Evalina Tilden; Wm. Henry, b. 1795, m. Abigail Knapp of Salem.

Seth and Mary Low's children:

Mary Ann, b. 1808 Sarah Elizabeth b. 1822

Harriet b. 1809 Charles Porter b. 1824

Abiel Abbot b. 1811 Ellen Porter b. 1827.

Seth Haskell b. 1812 Edward Porter b. 1814

Edward Allen b. 1817 died in infancy.

Francis b. 1819

Josiah Orne b. 1821

Captain James Low commanded vessels going to the Far East. The older Lows' parents were David and Hannah Haskell Low.

LETTERS OF MARY PORTER LOW TO SETH LOW
FROM SALEM 1828 TO 1829.

March 20th, 1828.

Dear Husband:

I have just returned from visiting the sick, and understanding there was an opportunity of writing to New York¹ I have sat me down to let you know how I found them. Aunt Low they call better but she is very feeble. Aunt Porter has another attack of fever and is confined to her bed entirely. The children are all more or less unwell but not so sick that they were able to be in to their Grandmother's. Abbot left us last Wednesday and no doubt is with you before this. Give my love to him and tell him if he has not written to us, to write immediately and let us know how he got on, how he likes New York, &c. Sarah wonders who he will find to kiss. The children are all well. Little Charles has a fine arm. I hope to have Ellen (1½) vaccinated tomorrow, but am rather fearful I shall not get her consent. Charles says he wishes he could get hold of his father, he would kiss him most to death. They all talk a great deal of you and it is the greatest punishment you can inflict to tell them you will write to their father if they do anything amiss. Cousin Ann has got her husband's picture — the greatest likeness you ever saw. Sally's cough is no better. I should think, now Abbot is with you, you might make him attend to some of your concerns and come and make us a visit. We all long to see you, not to speak of myself in particular.

Your affec. wife, M.Low.

Don't forget the price of the book for Mrs. Eames.

I was stopt from writing last night by the cry of fire. It seems someone had set fire to the barn between E. Barnard's and Marshall's shops.

1 Seth Low of Salem moved his business as an importer of drugs to New York sometime in 1828 and went to live there over a year before he moved his large family down from Salem. Of twelve children one had died and two were away. He had bought a lot, a city square block on Brooklyn Heights, near the present Brooklyn Bridge, and was building two houses, his own at 49 Concord Street and an adjoining one for his brother William against his return from China in 1834, and a classical school, to which he imported Salem school masters later.

Salem. July 12th 1828.

My dear Husband:

When you left us I had no idea I should write a line to you I thought all that was to be said I should let the girls say for me, but I find that absence has changed my ideas on the subject and I feel such an irresistible desire to communicate with you that it has overcome my unconquerable objections to letter writing. I wish I could get the long letter from you which you have promised me ever since you have been in New York. I want to know everything that concerns you, respecting business, your gentlemanly appearance, who brushes and sponges your coat; for I presume that same coat has to do for Sunday and weekday, too.

Do give my love to George Archer (Mary Ann's fiancé) and tell him I would be very much obliged to him to keep an eye on you, and not let you go out dirty if he can prevent it by a well timed brush, . . .

Your brother William was up to Charlestown the other day and there heard that your sister Mrs. Eaton had been very sick; but when they wrote she was better. Horace is very unwell and they are fearful will be obliged to leave his trade. We had a letter from Aunt Orne the other day, in which she informed us of the miserable situation in which you found George. I was grieved to hear it, but it was not more than I feared. She says you are one that is always doing good, that we must give her kind love to you and express to you her obligations and thanks.

Have you made any enquiry whether Aunt Lee would be likely to get a school at Brooklyn, or not, as she feels anxious to be doing something, and would like to know before she determines, what the prospect is there? She does not wish you to give yourself any trouble about it, merely to make the enquiry of someone that lives there. Mr. Broozer has got his long projected Sunday school under way. They have a hundred and thirty scholars. Your friend Mr. Saltonstall is the Superintendent. We are all well except Mother (Ruth Allen Porter).² She is very much troubled with her limb, but we have not invited any surgical aid yet.

July 17th I have written as far as this date, expecting

2 Her sister, Alice Allen and Captain Josiah Orne.

to send it by Mr. Abbot, but was disappointed as he went some round about way to New York. I will now just say to you that we received your long letter, addressed to Harriet. We were delighted to get it, though for myself I must say I should have been better pleased had there been one line in it addressed to *me*.

Do give my love to James (Low) and Hannah and tell H. I should be much gratified if she would write to me, and tell me what *she* thinks of New York; how she thinks it will suit a person of my retired, domestic habits. You have never once said that you had any *homesick feelings*. I am quite afraid that you will not be able to bear with so many children again. They all desire me to send a great deal of love for them. Harriet Nichols³ likewise desires to be respectfully remembered.

Your affectionate wife,
Mary Low.

Salem, August 31, 1828.

My dear Husband:

I received yours of the 22[nd], in which you require me to give an account of myself, which I shall do as quick[ly] as possible, as it is a job I hate; not that in this instance I have fear to do it, for I think you will give me credit for being economical. At any rate it has been my constant endeavor to be so. To begin with money matters. When you left you gave me 10 Dollars, \$6.75 of which I paid to H. Nichols. When I had spent the rest I applied to C. Funson[?]. He sent me 5 Dollars and said he was not prepared to settle the remainder till after the 10[th] July. In the meantime Uncle Porter brought me 6 Dollars which he had taken for powder. Mr. Putnam has paid me the remainder of the bill, which was 11 Dollars and 98 cents, \$3 of which I have paid H. Nichols. I have bought one suit of clothes for Francis and Josiah as they were very short for summer clothes. I have about seven Dollars by me. I have had but one barrel of flour of Mr. Secomb, but it is now

³ Who lived in the famous Peirce-Nichols house on Essex Street, now owned by the Essex Institute. She m. Chas. J. Shipman.

out. My Butcher's bill is about 7 Dollars; my butter man I have paid weekly— but I have not paid what was due him when you left as I was afraid of being without money, and he never appears to be in a hurry. I have made no bills anywhere excepting Mrs. Ward's⁴ and your shoe bills, which go on much as they did when you were here, as there are just as many to shoe, excepting yourself. But a truce to business.

I watched last night with Cousin Ann's little boy who has been dangerously ill with lung fever, but we think him better today. Elijah [her brother] is gone to Boston for the purpose of settling with the remainder of his creditors. I sincerely hope he will be able to do something soon. Was it not provoking that the store should sell so much worse the second time? Do tell me what you think of his new situation. Perhaps he has not informed you he has got a dividend declared and that he will pay 50cts to all.

September 1st. [written August 1st.] Aunt Porter came up yesterday and spent the day with me. I was anticipating the pleasure I should receive in the evening when Cousin Elvius arrived. As I had no doubt but I should have a letter by him, he came and brought nothing but disappointment for me and a long letter for *Mary Ann*. I forgot to mention when speaking of expenses that our brown sugar is out and I have had to buy seven pounds. I told Abbot I wished he would sell some more powders and buy me some more. Coffee grows low; tea, rice and molasses plenty at present.

Cousin Ann's little boy remains quite sick. I feel very much afraid it will be too much for him, but he has an excellent constitution in his favour. I received a letter from Hannah [Mrs. James Low] and should be much pleased to have another. She says she will write again when she hears from me, but you must tell her she must not expect a line from me as I write to no one but you, and do not mean to write to you any more.

Abbot has just been in, has seen Mr. Howard [his former employer]. Mr. H. tells him you weigh 200. I think the

4 Who kept a school for girls.

city air must agree with you. The family all join with me in love to you.

W. H. [William Henry Low] would be much gratified with a line or two from you.

Your affec[tionate]

Mary Low.

On the next sheet is a letter to her father from Harriet Low, aged 19. It follows:

Sunday eve. August 31st

My dear Father:

Mother wishes me to put a postscript in for her to tell you that she received your letter today, regrets that she could not have received the stockings as it would have been so good an opportunity to have sent them on by Elvius; and Mother says that you had better get one or two pair[s] more — and send yours all on that want repairs and she will mend them. Likewise you had better step in to the tailor's and get your coat mended as soon as possible, — you will be in danger of losing the reputation you now have if a hole should appear in the elbow. Cousin Elvius says you are quite a gentleman, wear a white hat, weigh 200— and dress up in style— and as happy as a king, and some more. We do not credit all he says. Mother says she wishes you to tell Aunt Low that if she is prudent she will not go with her husband. [who was captain of a ship]

Grandmother is no worse. She does everything for it [her leg] she can and hopes as the weather grows cooler it will recover [sic]. You say that you are astonished at the match in our seats. It comes on bravely. I expect by the time I write again of the young man — if you can judge by a person's looks — I do not think much. By-the-bye Elvius says you read him my letter. I would thank you not to do the thing again, as they are not fit for an impartial ear.

Mother says the vest she will mend and send it on. The coat you have thoroughly worn out. We should be delighted to see you if you could come and see us. Grandmother

thanks you for kind attentions, requests me to send her love.

Accept the same from your
Ever affectionate
Daughter H[arriet]

P. S. Answer my letter soon if you please. It is dark and I cannot see to stop my letter. I will thank you to stop.

Salem. August the 16th, 1828.

My Dear Husband:

I cannot refrain from writing you a few lines, tho' I have received none from you. Mary Ann Low, [aged 20] has received three letters from George [Archer] since I have had a scrap from you, but I am willing to ascribe it all to your being very much engaged. I am afraid, however, you have forgotten the resolution you made before you left home, which was to spend some part of Sunday evening in writing to me. I shall send by Fiske both your silk vests and the shirt which you sent home to be repaired. It will answer for a night shirt if nothing else. You will see that I have mended one of the vests with different silk, but I thought you might be glad to put it on, now that you have no wife to do anything for you. I wish you had thought to have sent your stockings by Fiske, you could have had them returned so quick[ly].

Our children are very well tho' we have had very hot weather, and no doubt you have had the same. I am sure I hope not any hotter. We never have an uncommon[ly] warm day, but you have our sympathy. Old Mrs. Pickering died very suddenly yesterday morning. She had been sick but a day or two with the dysentery. She and the old Col[onel] were both at meeting on Sabbath Day. Miss Smith sent her school bill the other day but I was not in cash to pay it. It is \$5.50 cts. Mr. Kimble's bill is about the same amount. When you write me tell me what I must do about them. I have had four Dollars of Abbot since I wrote to you before, half of which I paid Harriet, and this morning I had two more. I told Elijah [Porter] yesterday that you told me you thought he would be able to let me

have what money I should want. He told me he would let me have enough to keep me along, and today he sent me three Dollars. I did not dare to ask him for money for these other matters as I know that he is doing very little at present.

I have smooched[?] this letter when the children were all at home, one after Mother, and then another 'till I scarcely know what I am about.

Sarah desires her love to you, and says I must tell you it is her birthday. Little Ellen, [then one or two years old] is a very interesting child, but grows very mischievous. She climbs into all the chairs and gets on to all the things that come in her way, but I must close for Mary Ann is almost distracted with the toothache.

Your affectionate wife, Mary Low.

Salem. September 29, 1828.

Dear Husband:

I believe a longer time has elapsed since I wrote to you than at any other time since you left us, but of this I am very certain, that it is not because I have thought less of you. When I received your last letter which gave me your opinion of our removal [i. e. to Brooklyn], I was satisfied that it was for the best, but still I felt dull at the prospect of so long a separation and did not feel like writing. We shall look forward to the time of your promised visit with a great deal of pleasure. I believe you will be very much amused with Charles [later the clipper ship captain]. He is a queer child, thou' sometimes a noisy one. He does not talk much better than when you left. He brought home a little boy with him the other day by the name of Archer. I asked the boy if he had any mother. Charles [aged 4] says: "Yet, and ever so many fathers!" Last night when he was going to bed he told his Grandmother that when Miss Smith whipped him he kissed her, he didn't kick her a bit! But there is something particularly interesting in all of them—to the partial eye of their mother, I presume. Mr. Seccomb informed you of the sudden death in Mrs. Eames' family [Seth Low's sister's family]. It is the first

death that has come very nigh to Mrs. Eames and it is very trying to her. The child had been unwell but they considered it better, and she set out for Andover on Tuesday morning. But after she was gone they found the child was worse and sent for a nurse and the doctor. She got home on Wednesday about six o'clock and the child died on Thursday at the same hour.

On receipt of your last letter I went immediately to Mrs. Lee's to let her see what you wrote with respect to her school. She appeared much disappointed, said if we had been going she certainly would have gone on and taken her chance. She is now making enquiries about a school in Boston, but she wished me to trouble you further by enquiring whether you think it possible for her to get a class to teach the Spanish language to this winter, and commence a school in the spring. I told her if you were to mention it your first enquiry would be what her terms will be. She said: "Five Dollars entrance and 10 a quarter." I was loath to trouble you as I think it will be useless, but I could not refuse. I pity her very much. I believe she has spent nearly all she had left her. She told me it was not possible for her to lay by this winter. She says Judge Storey, Doctor Flint and many others will recommend her, let her go where she will. I think it is strange with such recommendations if she cannot get a school somewhere. But she is averse to coming forward in any public way about it if she can help it.

Now for domestic matters. Had I best lay in some vegetables, or wait till you come on? I want some factory cotton very much—particularly sheeting cotton—. I have been going to say to you all summer that we had a mattress that would do for Mr. Archer if he wished to sleep at the store, but as I could not furnish you with bedding too, I said nothing about it. I am buying sugar, coffee, oil and shall soon have to buy tea at retail at Mr. Putnam's. Uncle Porter said that Mrs. P. was having things of him and that he should settle with *him*. I mention it because I thought you would like to know how we were getting along, if you could not do any better for us.

Cousin Ann has returned from the country. Her little boy took cold coming from the country and was so sick in Boston she had to have the Doc[tor] to him. She says she

had a delightful visit, but she will never go with them again, she found it so fatiguing journeying with them. Edward [Orne, her nephew] has been down and I believe has some prospect of a voyage from this town. Aunt Orne and Cousin Sally [Orne] were well, the latter was talking of going to Springfield, but I don't know as she will as I understand Mrs. Orne is very sick again. I believe I mentioned to you that she had had a severe attack of the numbing[?] palsy. Mary Ann and all the children join with me in love to you.

Your affectionate wife,
Mary Low.

P.S. I forgot to tell you that Haskell [their son] has been employed at Mr. Brown's store for the last 8 or 10 days. Mr. Brown had allowed him 75? a day.

October 7, 1828.
Seth Low in New York to Mary Porter Low in Salem.
My dear Wife:

Your favor of Sept. 29, I have read with a great deal of interest. I shall rejoice to see our little ones. I rec'd a letter from William⁵ of Sept. 27, in which he first announced his project of going to Canton, enjoining profound secrecy & saying he had obtained liberty to write to Genoa & get an answer respecting his connection with Buny & Gower, from which I concluded the time was distant, when he would leave the country. I have rec'd another today of the 4th inst., by which I find he contemplated an earlier departure & wishes my opinion about Harriet's going with them. This subject in my present situation, has bro't a feeling of desolation, which I have seldom experienced & which I cannot easily remove. I have, however, naturally weighed the matter & if Harriet has viewed the subject in all its bearings & makes the decision her own to go, I shall acquiesce. She will be sensible she leaves her country, her friends & associates at a peculiar period of her age; when she has a right to indulge the expectation of a settlement for life. In this view of the matter I consider the sacrifice

5 William Henry Low, b. 1795, m. Abigail Knapp of Salem.

a great one. Perhaps, however, she may consider the benefits from being placed under William's care & protection as sufficient to compensate her for the sacrifice. I wish her to be sensible of all the consequences, to weigh the matter well & to be fully persuaded in her own mind, & if her purpose should be fully established, to embark with them, I shall submit. As a parent and bound to look after her support, I shall consider William pledged to treat her as his daughter & the condition is indispensable that provisions be made for her return within five years, if she chooses and Providence permit. William informs me you think favorably of it & think it will be a good thing for Harriet. I hope it may prove so. I think I might feel less gloomy upon the subject if I had half a dozen children about me. I wish I could be with you, that we might go over the whole ground together. You will give me early notice.

(no signature) Seth Low.

To Seth Low

Salem. October 28, 1828.

No. 22 Exchange Place, New York.

My dear Husband:

I received yours of October 7th and one of a later date which I do not recollect, but various full occupations as well as a great reluctance to mention the subject of our dear Harriet's anticipated voyage, have prevented me from writing before—but I hear Mr. Dow is in town & I determined he should not return without something from me. I find with respect to Harriet leaving her native country—you felt as I did—that she should make it a matter of her own choice.—and decide for herself. She has done it and now appears happy, and I think pleased with the idea of it. Her uncle and aunt are providing liberally for her and seem to think nothing too much. With respect to their departure there is nothing yet decided upon but it will be the first opportunity that presents, whether from Boston, New York, or Philadelphia.⁶

⁶ They sailed for Canton in May, 1829, on Harriet's 20th birthday.

I carried your letter to Mrs. Lee and told to her, what you had written. She desires me to say to you that she is greatly obliged to you for the trouble you have taken in her affairs, but she has now engaged a school in Charlestown which will commence in a few days. She has ten scholars at ten Dollars a Quarter to begin with and the promise of more. I am rejoiced for her. She told me with tears that it was absolutely necessary that she should have a school this winter, that all she had in the world would not carry her through the winter without one.

I suppose you have seen Mrs. Orne's death in the papers. Cousin Sally had been there about a week. She calculated to spend part of the winter in Springfield and then make a visit in Salem. I think you may stand a chance of seeing her as she will undoubtedly be in Salem sooner than she expected. The children and indeed all of us begin to count the days that must pass before we see you. They all send love to you. Little Ellen is fat and very healthy. I think we have great reason to be thankful that your health and that of our family has been so good since our separation. God grant that it may continue till we shall once more meet again. William and his wife have returned from . Your sister Hannah is much better, but she has been very low indeed. This summer your mother has had everything to do, but she says she has been fitted for her condition. Her health has been excellent. Mrs. Schiller called to see us. She says she has got down to 45.

I don't know that I have written you that Nabby [Mrs. Abigail Low Davis] has another daughter. [She had seven daughters by her first and seven sons by her second husband who was Mr. Ranlett.] I believe she is pretty well, but plagued for help. She has to hire by the day all she gets and Mr. Davis had to hang out his clothes himself after they had been soaking two or three days, waiting to get somebody. But I must leave off scribbling for my fingers ache.

Your affectionate wife, Mary.

My dear Husband:

December 21st, 1828.

It is a fortnight tomorrow since you left us and I have not yet received one line from you. If I do not have a letter

soon I shall think your visit rather served to wean than renew your affection. But let that be as it may, I have determined to improve the present opportunity of letting you know that it has had no such hard effect upon me.

Monday morning. I began this letter last evening and calculated on having a fine time to write you but Edward Allen came in and spent all the evening, so you must not now expect much. Edward [her nephew] will go to sea in about a week. He says he may be gone 3 months and he may be gone 3 years. He is going to St. Michael's first and from there to Brazil. He is going in one of Mr. Pingree's vessels and will take the command of her himself. The children are all well and send a great deal of love to you. Little Ellen has learned to kiss since you left and has just given me a sweet one for you. Josiah [aged 7] amused us very much the morning after you left us. At the breakfast table he says: "Seems to me Father went off very sly—just like the mouse, 'The clock struck one and away he run.'" And at table again the other day he rises and says: "Thank you for the food I have eat[en], which daily admonishes us of a superior and superintending power." Harriet is still with us and I think likely to be till the spring. S[arah] Orne is still in town and I think, will spend the winter. She has promised to come and spend one week with me before she leaves town. You must excuse bad writing and spelling and everything else. It is terrible cold today and my fingers ache so I can hardly hold a pen.

your affectionate wife, Mary.

Elijah [her brother] has paid Mr. Kimble's bill and Miss Smith's [the teacher's].

April 4th, 1829.

Enclosed with the note below.

Dear Father:

I should like to see you very much. Uncle Porter gave me a pair of boots which were worn out a little, but Mother had them mended and they have lasted me through the bad weather, but they are going now.

I am at the head of my class. I have had lectures[?]

four times for being up to the head and shall soon have it again. We have had the snow rather deep this winter, so that Mother kept us all at home. Mother has bought me a Manuscript and I have wrote some in it and Mother thinks I have wrote it very well.

Your affectionate son

Francis Low.

[Very carefully written copy-book child's hand on lines ruled in pencil.]

Dear Husband:

Francis has been very anxious to write you, and I thought you would be gratified to receive a few lines from him, but it is by no means a fair specimen of his writing. I think he improves as fast as any of his brothers in all his studies.

I was delighted at receiving your letter. I began to feel quite slighted, I assure you. I began a letter to you on the evening of our birthday, [It was the same date, four years apart] the second we have ever passed separated from each other since we have been acquainted, but as I was low-spirited when I wrote, I shall not finish it, as I feel better since I received your letter. When I wrote you last Aunt Porter was dangerously sick. She is more comfortable now but is still very feeble, quite as helpless as her babe. I have watched with her twice a week since she has been so sick and have stood it wonderfully for me. I can hardly put up with my disappointment, that is, of not seeing you, [since] no one can tell when. I was in hope Abbot would be able to assist you so that you could make us a visit. I want to hear what he is like[ly] to do. Give my love to him. Tell him I miss him very much. I do not hear anything that is going on 'til a week after everybody else. Uncle Williams asked to see your letter. After he had read it he said that if I wanted money he could let me have some. I told him I did not for anyone but my milk man. He had called two or three times. If I could pay him a part he was willing to wait. He took twelve Dollars from his pocket which I received and you must be accountable for. He said, too, you must be particular about your clothes, that he had introduced Mr. Ammidon to you and if he should

find you badly dressed he would not think anything of you. I tell you these things just to make you careful.

Cousin Sally's cough was much better before she received your medicine. She desired me to give her love to you and to tell you she was very much obliged to you and that she should keep it 'till she could give it a fair trial. She knew that Mr. Wood had written to you. She said that it was the same mistake—that she tried to point out to you. You will be glad to hear that they had let the house. Mrs. Williams has taken it. Rent [\$]2.10.

I shall have some shirts made as quick as possible for you. I was very glad to hear what Daniel [Low, his brother] had done. I think it must be a great benefit to you. I have not heard from your brother David since his arrival.

Mother and the children all join with me in love to you, Abbot & Mr. Archer.

Your Affec[tionate] Wife

Mary Low.

Salem. March 17, 1829.

My dear Husband:

I embrace the opportunity by Abbot to write to you with the greatest pleasure—as it is the first time that has presented itself for a long time. I understand that you have written to Uncle William, and say that I have forgotten you, but I believe it has yet to be determined which has the most reason to complain—[There are] four weeks between the dates of my last letters [from you]. Things did not need so to be, but enough of this. I have too much to tell you to stop to scold, tho' I think I have good reason.

To begin with family matters—Aunt Porter [Mrs. Elijah Porter], I believe Harriet informed you, has another son. It is now four weeks old, but she remains very feeble. She has had a low fever and cannot now sit up but a small part of the day. Aunt Low, too, is quite sick. Harriet is nurse. I have not seen her since she has been sick, for it is terrible going here—hardly fit for anyone to go out—and Ellen has been quite sick for the week past. She is now better, but very cross. Since writing the above Elijah [Porter, her

brother] has been in; says his wife is more unwell. He has his hands full. Has had the doctor and that one or two of his children are quite unwell. I hardly dare ask for money tho' I want some very much. My milk bill was sent in the first of Jan., receipted, and it has been lying over since. I sent it to Uncle Porter, but we were then expecting you in Feb. and Haskell, and Uncle P. would let it remain till you came on. He has called again today but Abbot says I must not ask for money till he has got what is due him. I have had no trouble in getting what I have wanted for family use, but I do not think Mr. Ward is paid yet.

Cousin Sally [Orne] remains in town. She is now with Mrs. Prince. She has her dreadful cough again and Anne says looks quite sick. She has not been out the last week. Their house is not yet let. Sally says they shall have nothing coming in this year as it will take everything to pay the mortgage. Aunt Orne has sent me word she is coming to make me a visit as soon as the travelling will admit. We have had an interesting letter from Aunt Sally and one from Susan. Aunt Sally thinks quite hard of not hearing from her friends oftener and mentions a number of ways in which they may send to her direct. The Hamburg packet sails every six weeks from New York. She writes for your address. Do, if you know when the packet sails, drop her a line and tell her what you can of her friends.

Susan writes that Daniel [Seth's brother] has received a letter from you saying that George [Archer] is in Salem and that she shall certainly write him. What do you think of Hap, as Susan calls her, taking lessons in dancing? [Probably Harriet].

Cousin Ann has had her children Vaxinated [sic] and I have had Charles. Ellen was too sick at the time, but she can take it from Charles. I thought you would not like to have me miss so good an opportunity. Cousin Ann thought that Dr. Putnam would not charge me anything, but you can see [to] it when you come home.

The children are all well and as good as can be expected where there are so many. Edward and William are remarkably good. Frank, too, grows a very good boy. Haskell appears to be quite steady to his business now. Mother

says I must tell you what terrible cold weather we have had. When I inform you we have burnt all our wood and have got another half cord, I think you will be convinced of it—but we have not burnt more than our neighbors. Mr. Quarles's was gone before ours. It is so cold now my fingers ache while writing to you. Mrs. Eames [his sister] has just called in to tell me she has engaged Mrs. Davis' [Abigail Low] house again at one hundred Dollars, the same [she] used to occupy.

I shall send you by Abbot 3 sheets, 2 pairs of pillow cases and a counterpane. You must tell them they must shift one sheet at a time, taking the upper one for the under one when they put on the clean one. Give my love to George and tell him I give him these directions as I think he will be a better manager than Abbot. I shall send the bed and bedstead as soon as I can get it ready. I have a thousand things now I want to tell but I am tired and afraid you will not be able to read it, or that I shall not be able to myself. Mary Ann said that the last letter she wrote to George [her fiancé] she tried to read herself but could not. I reproved her but I am afraid I have committed the same error myself.

Your affectionate Wife Mary Low.

P. S. I have opened my letter to say to you that William and Edward have paid Mr. Cheever \$5.00 for which they have got no receipt. When you write I wish you to inform me how your shirts hold out. I should have made some more before this time if we had not had so much other work to do. I wrote to you some time since to know if you would be done with either pair of your pantaloons. Haskell will have to get a pair.

In September, six months later, Mary moved herself and nine children (Harriet having sailed for China in the spring) down to Brooklyn to await the finishing of their new home and she and Seth were re-united, not to part again.

EXTRACTS FROM INTERLEAVED ALMANACS
OF NATHAN BOWEN, MARBLEHEAD, 1742-1799

NOTES BY W. HAMMOND BOWDEN

(Continued from Volume XCI, page 190)

25. Had the very disagreeable entertaind with a Mob! i. e. a number perhaps 500 young fellows Runing about the streets hollowing and making tumultious noise entering houses & Demanding Money & put the Inhabitants in great Terror & the members of the Court then Sitting there!

26. This Morning hung an Effigie of the Gent. Some said of C^l. Ch^{te} then President of y^e Court uncertainly! however the Victem was Carried away in greate Solemnyt by the Mobeliky being then near 2,000 Collected from all quarters This mob had promisd the Gent there to do no violence to the persons or properties of the Inhabitants in Consideration of a Barril of Rum and sugar proportion for Grogg, this they had in their Cart in which they put their quondum Stamp master & carried all away to gether to the head of the street and there in greate Triumph Burnt the Criminal in a mighty Bonfire erected there for that purpose where they spent greate part of the night with firing Small Cannon. the Bells Ringing all night to my greate offence! This Scandalous Tumult was they Say pursued to shew their abhorence of the Stamp Act! Strainge Delusion! that Such bare faced Contempt of Government Should be expected to affright the English Parliment

Oct 11 The Hands of the Dial Plate on the East & South Octaves of the Church in this Town were put up being Turnd by a Virtical Rod by which the Arbor gives Motion to the hands & Carry them Round over the Several hours of the Plain those hands Standing not less than 18 feet above the Arbor that moves Them The Peoples Faith Wavered — as to the possibility of Such a performance! but now they See the thing naturally effected by the Law of Machineary they are Satisfied But Only exclaime. Who would have thought it! —

15 The Dials perform well & keep Time to the general Satisfaction of Inditious Eyes. —

1 Nov^r. Went with ux to Natick lodged at Son Bowens

2 Went to Dea Russells

3 at Meet^g M^r Prentice

4 at Holliston

5 Dined at Park's on Parkers hill.

6 Set out home ward Lodgd at Bradishes

7 Arived home in good order, &c — We are now

Entring in to the Cloud of Difficulty touching the Stamp Act! God only knows When or how it will End! Sup^r Court met & Salem ye 5th — & Adjourn'd to ye I April. to wait the event of the Stamp Act!

18 Daught Martin d^d. of *Mary*.

Dec^r. 5 Thanksgiving.

16 Jn^o Choat Esq Died at Ipswich! he was Judge of Probate in &c. & discharged — which office his Ignorance was not his only foible his Pride put him upon attempts Vastly beyound his power. To see the Judge Labouring to Distribute an Estate among a nimber of Orphans by the Common & Ordinary Rules of Arithmatick, would naturally put a man in Mind of the Fable of the Munkey turnd Carpenter. What pitty he had not died 3 years & 1 month sooner!

25 Din'd at Capt^s

28 Son Edwd Said for Lisbon with a fine wind after him May he have the Divine Blessing attending his Voyage.
Cows Leases 1765.

Griffin 2 Mid^l Division. order pd 4 Dol

Gid Phillips 1 pd

Mrs. Rich 1 Brokfield

Mrs Martin 1 pd

M^r Wight 1 Dr Powder house Lott.

M^r Ryon 1 W^m Bodens horse $\frac{1}{2}$ time

Self 1 My Own horse $\frac{1}{2}$

W^m Wait on Neck order pd

W^m. Williams Mid p^d.

John Lee 1 upper ord^r. Dr

upper

Dennis 1

Palmr 2

John Clark 1 upper ord

Dr Waldron 3

Knot Martin Inc 1 upper order	pd	Edgcom	1
Bubier Upper. Dr			7
Jos Cloutman 1 mid ord ^r . pd	mid	—	
Job Trask $\frac{1}{2}$ mid. order pd.	Haw	1	
Tho Johnson upper order pawn	Legg	3	
Nath Goldsmith 1 upp ^r ord ^r Dr.	Trefry	1	
Sam Rhodes — 1 mid ord. Dr.			$\frac{1}{2}$
Tho Foidick — 1 upper order Dr.			$5\frac{1}{2}$
Yetton — 1 mid.			
Jan. 2, 1772. Grandson Nathan here			
16. bryan Hanged at Salem			
29. Dea Russell gon home after Tarrying from Dec ^r .			
24 th 1771			
Feb. 5, 1772. W ^m Boden came			
7. W ^m Boden gon home Wednesday			
12. M ^{rs} Paramore Buried			
Mar. 5, 1772. Dea Russel at Salem			
Apr. 10, 1772. Recd of Mansfield Esq Money for Lyn			
15. This day I am 74 Years Old having had the divine			
Aid have continued hereto!			
29. Wife gon to Natick.			
30. D. Russell came.			
May 1, 1772. Wife returnd from Natick			
5. Jn ^o Boden & Moses came Worked			
15. W ^m Boden here			
Apr. 3, 1773. the first Ilesable arrived			
14. The Sale of Wight & House Adjourn'd to Monday			
the 24 th of May a 3 in the afternoon			
[Recorded by son Edward]			
Mem of Business to be Done Down Eastward			
at York			
See Regestors Office for Deed Hawkes to Proctor Windham Lands to Copy for Father at York			
at Falmouth			
Halls Money Deeds Record			
at Windham			
M ^r Hawkes House wants Repairs and will fall			
Dodge, Eben ^r Hawkes Recpt for wife's Debt Old Mans Es- tate Anderson for Rev ^d M ^r Smiths Note at to			

Coll on Mr Kinball to Come Mr Coombes
 Said Sum of Ten Pounds. Edward Bowen
 John Chipman Esq^r Barrister at Law was born
 October 23^d A D 1722
 and Died July 1st A D, 1768
 of an Apoplexy

with which he was Suddenly Seized in the Court House in Falmouth, while he was arguing a Cause before the Superior Court of Indicature then Sitting, To the Remembrance of his great Learning Uniform Integrity, and Singular Humanity & Benevolance This Monument is dedicated, by a Number of his Brethren at The Barr

money on Gales acc^t Blackler Lee &c Coll^d Lee's D^o

May 29, 1773. John Kimball Came

June 1773.

Enigma

The times are like a steady hand
 That plays well on a fiddle
 The tune that suits our fancy best
 With that we are sure to Meddle

The times are like an eight day clock
 That runs without upwinding
 The mans a fool a useless tool
 That for money is not grinding

July 1773.

Expences going to Falmouth:	Beverly Ferry	£0"1"18
Wenham	0"5"0	
Ipswich	0"18"0	
Newbury	0"10"0	
Ferry	0"3"0	
Hampton Falls	0"3"6	
Greenland Lodged	1"2"6	
York	1"5"0	
Wells	0"10"0	
Jeffreys Lodged	1"5"0	
Potters	0"7"6	
Ferrage Portsmouth	0"4"6	
Malligans	0"16"0	

Falmouth Lodged	1"8"6
p ^d for Record ^g Deeds	0"3"0
Falmouth Lodged	1"17"6

£11"0"8

Home

Mollagans Lodged 2 Nights	£2"2"6
Kimballs Lodged	1"2"0
Littlefields	0"4"6
York	0"13"6
Ferrage	0"4"6
Greenland	0"7"6
Hampton Lodged	0"18"6
Salesbury	0"3"6
Newbury Ferrage	0"3"0
Rowley	0"6"0
Ipswich	0"18"0
Wenham	0"7"6
Beverly farry	0"1"8

18"13"4

Overall Records	0"2 " 6
Recording Deeds	0"12"6

19"8 " 4

1767 marblehead may ^{th.} 26 Lent to mr Robbert
hooper 58 feeat of mar Boards Davis paid

Ditto Hooper Borred 93 feeat same Day paid

1769 march 23 mr Samuell ashton moved Into moother
furnes hous

1770 23 octob^r Bats [Bartholomew?] Jackson Sailed
Decembr 8 Benja androws Came Home

1771 January 22 antone fraters Begun to Board at my
hous.

March 16 Capt Willm andrws Sailed

18 michel Bassett Sailed for first foir

21 Noer Down Sailed first foir

1771 marblehead april 15 Elisabeth Bassett went to
mr Deurix School

may 23 michel Bassett Came home first foir

25 Noer Down Came home first foir
 June 1 michel Bassett Sailed for Second foir
 8 Noer Down Sailed for Second foir
 July 2 Noer Down Came home Second foir
 8 noer Down Sailed for third foir
 august 15 michel Basset Came home Second foir
 26 michel Bassett Sailed for fall foir
 Sept 10 Noer Down Came home Last foir Summer
 1771 Sept 9 Capt androwes Sailed
 october 8 Capt John Bartoll Deceased J Roberson 6
 Deceased
 Nouembr 23 michel Bassett Came home fall foir
 Decembr 2 Noer Down Came home fall foir
 1772 January 16 Bryan Sheehen was hanged for Committing a Rape In Sept Last on the Body of Abial Hollowell
 february 27 Capt androws Sailed for the wesindes
 march 14 Willson Hickman Sailed for first foir
 may 4 Willson Hickman Came home first foir
 Sept 14 moother Furnis Came to my house
 18 Jonathan Roundey mued Into mother furnes house
 at £7.6.8
 27 Joseph Searl tuke my house upon Rent at £4.0.0
 for year
 octobr 20 Will^m Tucker & mr. archabel Selmon Schooner
 Sailed fall foir
 Decem. 1 Capt androws Sailed for the Westindes
 1773 febr 17 John Willison Sailed for Ilesabels
 April 4 Francis Bowden Came home Ilesabel Foir
 may 5 Carrid Barbery Bush to Lynn
 10 Elisabeth Bassett Went to mr ashtons Scho
 June 1 mr. Borter Went to Lynn to Work on Schoner
 June 17 Coustom house Bote over set 1 Women & 3
 men Drowned
 July 7. 1773 Samuell Proctor Died at See at granbank
 on Board michel Bassett Skipper Joseph Barkers Schooner
 august 20, 1773 Capt Samuell Dote Sailed for Bilboa
 Sept 23 Simon Lamprel marrid to margrett Procter
 26 John Bartoll Died
 1774 feb 4 Capt Nicholas Bartlet Sailed for Barbados
 10 Philip mehie Sailed for Ilesabels
 march 23 Capt Dote Came home from Cadzs

26 Landed into Esqr gallisons Wharehous 120
 Salt out Capt Dote

april 3 Willson Hickman Was Drowned out of my
 Schooner on Ile Sabel Bank

8 Skipper george Clark Came Home from Ile Sabels
 first home

15 my Schooner Came home from Ilesabels first foir
 may 12 Capt Dote Sailed for Bilboa In Brig *Woodbridge*

October 6 the Fire at Salem

1775 feb 17 Jacob Apelton Sailed for Ilesabel foir

1755 febuary 15 Thomas walker Saild To Ilesabels

21 John Standley Saild to Ilesabels

march 3 John Calley Saild for Ilesabels

may 3 John Standley Sailed for may fare

17 John Calley Sailed for his may fare

July 22 Samuell foorten Sailed Last fare at Sumer

29 John Calley Sailed for Last fare at Sumer

October 15 Samuell foorten Sailed fall fare

27 John Calley Sailed fall fare

1756 febuary 10 Henery hamson Sailed for Ilesabels

24 John Calley Sailed for Ilesabels

march 2 Samuell foorten Sailed for Ilesabels

8 Thomas Richeards Sailed for Ilesabels

october 23 Samuell Cilley Sailed for His fall fare

1757 January 15 Nicholas Procter mooued Into
 moother furnises Hoouse

June 23 Simon & Nancy Lampreall Came to Live at
 my Hoouse

1758 october 4 Day James Welch on Board *Halley*
 John Rusel master

1759 January ye 12 Day John Ball mooued into
 moother Hoouse

febu 17 Boought my Peegs wensday after waied 15½
 15¼

april 9 anney went to School to madam Skilling

Nouembr 28 Schooner went to Easland

1760 march 19 Joseph abbet Sailed for His Ilesabel
 fare

1761 march 30 Samuell procter Sailed first fare

Sept 7 peggy Came Heear to Liue

Decembr 30 Landed Into mr Hoorse Esqr Wharehouse
 7½ Hogesh Salt out Schooner *Nighting[ale]* Samuell foorten Skipper

1762 febuary 24 pasen Boos

may 17 anne went to mr Eueenton to Scool

Sept 6 pasen Whittwill ordained augst 25 — 1762

1763 July 10 pasen weaks preached his first Sermont
 25 Samuell ashton tuk ye house to keep Schol

1764 Janu 3 Robert Hooper Esqr marred to mis Cowel
 febuary 4 John Curney Died ms Curney Went to

Boston

may 28 I Went to be anocklated

20 ms Curney took mr house at new at £

Decembr 24 moother hoore Came to Joheph procter to
 stay philip Went to mr Crafts to Scool

1765 febuary 14 mr Craft Deceased

march 7 Thos procter Sailed to Ilesabels

octobr 11 mr harris Went Into moother furnis Chamber
 thos procter Born october 1765 the son of Samuell pro-
 ter Chrisened day

1766 febuary 17 Jacob Vickri Sailed to Ilesabels

march 5 Schooner thos Launched

the 9 Brought Down from newbuary

20 Joseph felt Sailed for his first fair

april 7 Robert Cloutman & amos Grandey georg Sin-
 Cross & philip trasher Came from Ilesabels

July 17 put my molases Into Esqr mansfelds Store
 16 hh

1767 febuary 16 Joseph Clothey & John oaks Sailed
 to Ilesabels

27 Benja andros Sailed to Ilesabels

July 16 James Laronce moved Into moother furnises
 hous

noumbr Conoay Sloop Sunk to Eagel Island

Decembr 16 Daved Croos muved Into moother furni-
 ses hous

19 Remembr Hoore Deceased aged 79 years & 10
 moonths old

1768 January William Vickery Came home fall fair

25 Nicholas Nance Come home fall fair & John Stand-
 ley

1769 february 22 John Baker & Thos Brown & frances
Eles Sailed for Ilesabels

June 6 New House Raised

Sept 20 moofed Into New hous

[Entry by son Nathan]

22 mr Thos. Darrell mued Into my hous at £10.0.0
pound pr year

1770 may 12 Cap^t Thos. Darrell Delivered up my hous

15 Cap^t John Wormstead took my hous at £10.0.0 pr
year

octobr 12 Cap^r androws Sailed for the Wesindes

[ENTRIES BY EDWARD BOWEN]

January 1779

13th a privitteer Cap^t Tuck arrived with a fine prize
400 Hogg Suger & Hogg Rum

14th mother up^r Chamber M^{rs} Gabrel in my
house

22^d Brigg Pallis Sailed

23^d at $\frac{1}{2}$ past 5 this morning my wife D^d of a Son
whose name is to be Edw^d: who if he Should live may Re-
member that his Father had no hand in the Distraction of
his Country which once was the Best for a poor man in
the known world but now the worst

February 1779

1st B Hill taken

13th Gen Amad Sail'd

March 1779

1st went to Ipswich Bartlett arrived, & Collyer from
Newbury

25th the Mason & Spring Bird gone on a Wild Goose
Chase

April

1st Hulson to pay mother Hawks lower Room £25 P
year & £6"5"0 $\frac{1}{2}$ Johnson to pay £5"10"0 P

6th Free Mason Sailed

May

1st we hear of Several Vessels taken by the *True Blew*
formerly one of our Priviteers but afterwards Retaken by
the *Frankland*

5th Son Nathan Sailed

23^d Sailed

25th *Freemasons* prize in

June

1st B Hawkes arrived at Newbury in the *Vengeance*

5th Brother ashley Came Home

10th Bartlett Came Back Several of his men kll'd & wounded

10th Carruth Sailed in *Hammand*

20th Dennis Sailed

21st *Porcupine* Prize in

July

4th Conway took 4 prizes out 6 weeks

8th Mov'd Marsh

10th B Hawkes Sailed in Ship *Hector* for Boston to Join the fleet for a Pomopscot

12th *Hector* Came back to Salem

18th Benj Hawkes left *Hector*

19th the fleet Sailed from Boston Bound to Pomopscot near 30 Sail in all.

19th Benj Hawkes Sailed in the Brigg *Defence* Cap^t

John Edmunds Commander

24th Hulson took Shop

August

1st went to Ipswich with M^{rs} Reed

6th *Porcupine* Son Nathan Arrived

17th Conway Sailed

18th a Small fleet Sailed from Boston

19th Recd the News of our Fleets being Destroy'd at Penopscot by 6 Sail of English Men of Warr

20th B Hawkes Arrived from Pumupscott their Vessel being Blown up

29th Andrews wife Died

30th Son Nathan & Benj Hawkes Sailed

September

1st Hump Sailed

5th Several Vessels off for Boston

8th *Free Mason* Arriv'd

9th Stevers Sailed *John*

10th Hill Sailed

16th Several Vessels Retaken
 17th Curruth Arrv^d
 18th Several Vessels Johnson P Boat Thrasher
 for Bilboa

27th Benj Hawkes got Home in the *Cromwell* having Carr'd away their Mast & hove their Guns Over board

29th at 1/2 apast Seven this Evening a Sad Accident Happen'd the Arm'd Brigg *Freemason* being all filled for a Cruise took fire and about 8 She Blew up and Did a vast a Deal of Damage to the Houses Brock about 50 Squairs of Glass for me, at my House formerly Capt Majory's it Seems as if providence at present froons on the Priviteers Several Priviteers more arrived Dismasted

October

1st Carruth Back the Owners of the *Freemason* about Securing her Remains

4th went to Ipswich Lodged at Topsfield
 13th about Seting off Reddans Estate
 21st Andrews Sailed Last Night and Came back this Morning Hulson Removed Gefford Moved Mother Hawkes House
 22^d Andrews Sailed with M^{rs} Weeks
 24th Pearce &c Sailed for Bilboa this afternoon Will^m: Andrews Died
 25th Jn^o Watts Mov'd in Mother Hawkes upper Chamber a £
 27th Andrews Buried
 31st Benj Boden Sailed

November

4th Bubier Sailed
 9th Son Nathan & Benj Hawkes Sail'd in Conway Ship *Terrible* on a Cruise
 12th James Hawkes Came & Went Home
 26th Privateer Taken by Conway Arrived
 29th a Prize Sloop belonging to Conway & the Swett Arrived at Salem

Decem

1st the *Thorn* Sail'd
 2^d *Thorn* went to Nantasket
 9th Thanksgiving

18th A Schooner Bound to the West Endies Drove on Shore
 21st F Martin Sailed
 26th Son Nathan & Benj Hawkes Came Home in Con-way
 30th Several Vessels on Shore

January 1780

8th I know it froze as far Down as Skinners Head last night & this forenoon it froze from Skinners Head to Neck Cove

13th People in great Distress for want of Wood & Other Necessaries of life

21st 2/3 of the families in town without Wood or Meat

23^d the Harbour froze over & the upp part has been so for 3 weeks past & all the Vessels froze in

24th it Seems if the Judgmt of God was and has been on us Ever Sence Pronopscut Effair, for our Rebellion &c

31st the oldest people in the Cuntry say they never knew so Much Snow & Cold Weather as has been this month past

February

6th this Day the Church was open'd by the Proprietors and Mr Abrahams Read prayer and a Sermont which was Generally liked by all

7th my wife and Several women went over to Neck on the Ice

18th last night the *Thorn*¹² Cap^t Waters arrived from a Cruise and had a Smart Engagem^t & had 5 Men Killed belonging to this Town viz Sam^{ll} Blackler Benja Stacey W^m Green & Jos^h Cross

21st the Copper Bottom Came from Nantasket

March 1780

9th an Acco^t of Cap^t Russells and Benjamin Andrew's Schooner being Cast away on Cape Ann load with wood and one Brimblecom Drowned

12th Ogalbee Arrived on a prize taken by the *Thorn* Cap^t Waters last Christmas

12 The privateers mentioned here and on following pages can generally be identified in Gardner Weld Allen's *Massachusetts Privateers of the Revolution*, Cambridge, 1927.

25th a large prize Ship Came in taken by Capt: Collyer in the *Auroro* of Newbury

27th Hammon Sailed for Salem

O'h The Distress of this Cuntry once the Best for a porr Man in the World but now nothing but Liberty als D____try

M^{rs} Gaffords to pay £10 P for Lower Room from the 1st April

Johnson for the Chamber £8"15" P

John Watts for up Chamber £6 P

Due from M^{rs} Geffords for Rent from the 23^d of Oct^r to the 1st Apr^r £11"0"0

Jn^o Johnson from 1st April 1779 to 1st Ap 1780 £22"0"0

John Watts from the 25th Oct^o to the 1st Ap^r £5"5"9

April

4th was Assaulted in My House by Peter Martin who took from Me Several Deeds and others papers

5th Went to Salem and procected Martin

6th Martin Returned the Deeds & other papers & paid well for this Insult

8th Conway Sailed for Cap Ann

16th *Pilgrim* got a prize in out 14

18th went to Boston & Return'd Same Night

24th *Thorn* Sailed Cap^t. Cowell for Cape Ann

May

8th News of 6 of our Priviteers Carr'd to york

18th Son Nathan Sailed in *James*

June

3^d Sent 160 Dolls to M^{rs}: Wight for a Cows lease by M^r Ames

9th News Came of the priviteer Brigg *Spitfire* being taken

13th Hinkley Arrived from Cadiz

15th Bought a Pigg wt 34 M^{rs} Meder took the Shop

17th Conway & his Prize Arriv^d & took another about 3 weeks ago

18th Conways other prize arrived at Portsmouth Jn^o Jarvis Sailed Sunday

19th Conway's prize from portsmouth

20th People in Gen now beleive that Charlestown S^o Carolina is taken and Conferm'd that it was taken the 12th of May with 2 Thousand Continental Soldiers taken Prisoners of warr

26th The *Thorn* Capt^t Cowells prize Arrived

27th Benja: Hawkes Sail'd for Cape Ann *Gen Stokes* Capt^t James Parsons Comm^{dr}

July

3^d Went to Ipswich with M^{rs}: Boden and Flowrance to prove their Husbands wills

12th Went to Salem to Prove Jos Procters will

14th it Seems to be certain that a french Fleet is Arrived at Rhoad Island¹³ they Say 7 of the line & 6 frigates

22^d *Gen Stokes* taken 3 Prizes Large Ships from London Bound to Queback

25th one of the Stokes prizes Arriv'd at Cape Ann

28th Hard Thunder & Lightning which killed a horse belonging to Capt^t Lindsey

30th another of the *Stork* Prizes in

31st Son Nathan Arrived and Brought News of Benja Hawkes' Arriving at Casco Bay in the *Storks* other prize we hear of Several fishing Boats being taken & 3 Privet^{rs} off Casco Bay

August

2^d Copper Bottom Arriv^d Mr Johnson paid the House Rent to this Day

3^d *Pilgrim* Sailed

5th B Hawkes Came from Cape Ann *Frankland* Sail'd

18th My Brother Ashley from Pronops being taken

22^d a Sad Accident Happen'd this afternoon — Samuel Hooper a lad of ^about Sixteen years old Son to Capt^t Samuel Hooper of this town Shot himself it Seems he had Primed his gun first and in loading her She went off & kill'd him Dead

23^d young Hooper Buried & Prayer and a Sermon Read at Church being the first of that Sort Sence the &c

September

1st Mr Parker preach'd at Church

13 The French fleet arrived at Newport, July 10, 1780.

8th *Thorn* from Newbury

10th the Capt^t Bryant Sailed

14th *Thorn* Sailed

15th M^{rs} Bartlet Mov'd in Chamber the the *Gen. Pickering* arrived from Bilboa & took 3 prizes Coming Home

16th News of Gen^l Gates being Defeated¹⁴

20th Hulson took Shop

October

8th B Hawkes went to Soco

23^d this afternoon Brother Joshua Kimball and wife Came

November

7th Brother Kimball and wife went Home

8th James Hawkes Came

9th Rent Due from M^{rs} Geffords to the 1st of Novem a £60 P year & Watts from that time at £25.

14th *Thorn* Arrived at Newbury with a Ship a Prize and has taken a Brigg and a Sloop More the

16th the Brigg belonging to the *Thorn* Arrived

21st *Thorn* Prizes went to Newbury

[Entry by son Nathan]

July 25th 1820 . . . Marblehead

After the lapse of 40 years I review this almanack written by a man, who is now no more. Thus "one Generation passeth away and another Cometh, and this Great Inn, is by turns evacuated and replenished by succeeding pilgrims" And the Human race are still subject to the Gloomy reflection That they too must die!

Nathan Bowen Jr

December

4th Went to Ipswich with M^{rs} Bartlet

January 1781

14th Scott Moved Chamber

22^d John Dutch in Shop

February 1781

3^d News Came of Capt^t freind in a Ship from West Endies being Cast away on Boon Island Capt^t & 7 Men lost

21st My wife a 1/2 past 7 this Morning D^d of a Daughter

24th 2 Small Vessels Sailed

14 The battle of Camden, August 16, 1780.

25th *Cato* Sailed

March 1781

16th *Dixey* Sailed29th News Came of 2 English Cruisers being at Cape Codd 2 priviteers from Salem Went in persute of them31st No News from Cape Cod

April 1781

1st The *Brutus* Arrived from Cape Codd with a Sloop one of the Eniemes Priviteers2^d Mov'd in Shop News Came of one of the Privitteers that went out with *Brutus* being Cast away in Barnstable Bay now Contridickted9th *Ross* Arrived from Cales last night12th *Thorns* Prize Arrived here last night13th *Frankland* & *Brutus* Sailed Cap^t Hambleton Benj^a Hawkes in her

May 1781

1st Sailed2^d Sailed6th *Cowell* Sailed10th *Thrash* Arrived from Bilboa31st We are all in Confusion about Money the Old Omittion being fell so that it takes 160 of them to be Equil to a Spanish Mill'd Doll^r

June 1781

6th *Tucker* Arrived taken 3 Prizes7th Two of Tuckers Prizes Arrived a Ship & a Snow & a Sloop gone to Newbury Tuckers first Lei Killed & 5 of his People & 5 Wounded in the Ingagem^t by the Ship8th Several french Vessels gone to Boston10th Son Nathan Sail'd in Brigg *Montgomery* Cap^t Hobbs21st *Tucker* Sailed23^d french fleet Sailed *Sailed* from Boston25th *Brutus* Arri

July 1781

4th Drafted as a Soldier being 3^d Time Sence the Warr6th paid £9"7"6 Silver Money my part of Raising Soldiers10th Went to get a proper Receipt for a Man for Our Class

22^d *Brutus* Sailed
 24th Son William Went to go in the Army to his Destruction
 26th Jason Benja Hawkes Arrived out 15 weeks
 29th Cowell arrived having 7 Men killed and 16 wounded

August 1781

2^d We hear of the *Thorn* being taken & Retaken by 2 french frigait Son Nathan Arrived from a Cruise having taken 2 Prizes

3^d Several prizes Arrived
 18th Lewis Arrived from Cadiz
 26th Jason Cap^t Hambleton Sailed Benja Hawkes in her
 29th Tittle Arrived

September 1781

1st this Morning a Smart Engagement Insued between 2 Men of Warr the one french Frigate the other English 50 about 2 Leages S E from our Neck but the French Man Soon Strock to the English Man one 50 & 2 frigates french Cruising off here

3^d Went to Ipswich with Mrs Hind
 17th a Small Carteal Arrived from Island St Johns
 19th Margaret Sailed
 23^d Wormstead Sailed
 25th appriz'd Cap^t Hinds Estate

October 1781

10th Rev^d Mr Parker preach'd at Church
 11th 30 odd Children Baptised at Church yesterday and to Day
 12th at 11 to Day Cap^t Cole in y^e *Brutus* arriv'd
 14th Dixey Sailed
 18th *Grand Turk* arriv'd to Salem this Even^g with Mohawt in a Brig & a Schooner from Penobscot
 23^d Son Nathan Married to Elizabeth¹⁵
 26th News Confermd of Gen^l C Wallis Surrendering¹⁶
 29th News Came of My Son Benjamin's Dying at the Hospital in Barbados near 2 years ago

15 Elizabeth Martin. Marblehead Vital Records.
 16 October 19, 1781, at Yorktown, Virginia.

November 1781

13th *Thorn* Arrived

December 1781

5th a Brigg *Thorn's* Prize Arrived being the 2^d

January 1782

9th *Arculus* Sailed10th This Evening Major Reed Coming from Salem fel from his Horse and killed himself & about the same time one M^{rs} Neal an Old Woman Died Suddiently by herself

January 1783

1st Parson Hubbard Ord

April 1783

4th Cap^t Darby Arrived Confermd the News of Peace15th a Carteal Came from York

June 1783

20th at 4 oClock as Hard Thunder as every I heard which Did a Vast Deal of Damage to Coll^o Glovers House

July 1783

9th Went to Salem for M^{rs} Carder, Oakes & Woodman17th Went to Ipswich for Walter Smith29th Sat yesterday on Homans Estate at Burdicks31st Sat on Carders Estate

August 1783

4th Went to Ipswich with Brimblecom & Mr Barns22^d Brother Kimball Came25th Sat on Homans Estate28th Sat on Carders Estate

September 1783

28th Rev^d Mr Fisher Preach'd

October 1783

3^d a 1/2 past 3 A M my wife D^d of a Daughter13th M^{rs} Boden Died last night

January 1784

26th Peter Landy Drowned in the Harbour

February 1786

7th Went to Ipswich with M^{rs} Ryan

(To be continued)

THE CROWNINSHIELD PUNCH

CONTRIBUTED BY G. ANDREWS MORIARTY

The following recipe for the so-called "Arabella Punch" has been contributed by Mr. George Andrews Moriarty in whose family it has been preserved. Mr. Moriarty writes: "This recipe is said to have come down in our branch of the Crowninshield family from the original Dr. Richter von Kroninshieldt, which my great grandmother brewed for Lafayette when he visited Salem in 1824." The following letter from his cousin Joseph F. Dean was given to Mr. Moriarty forty years ago:

The Lady Arabella¹ Punch, from Salem Mass
The Juice of 18 Lemons, no seed or peel Allowed
Three Quarts of Cold Tea (Young Hyson)
One and one half 1½ lbs of Loaf Sugar
Mix, Have the Sugar thoroughly dissolved before adding
One Quart of Red Rum, Pine Apple Jamaica, or St. Croix.
One Pint of Brandy Rochelle Preferred
One Pint of Hollands Gin
One Quart of Red Wine of France (Claret or Vin Ordinaire)
Mix, in a Covered Crock the day before its proposed Use:
Pack the Crock and Contents in Ice, and allow it to remain
"in rest" till served:

Mem° My Mother, born Harriet C. Moriarty, told me that Upon the coming of the Marquise (*sic* Marquis) La Fayette to Salem in 1824, Lemons were very Scarce at that time, and my grandfather John Moriarty drove in his chaise to Newburyport in order to obtain a Box of Lemons, and there did purchase a Box and brought it to Salem in his Chaise, in order that this punch could be brewed and Served to the Marquise. (*sic*)

Mem° My Grandmother Moriarty inherits this recipe from her Mother (*sic* grandmother) Elizabeth Moseley born Crowninshield. Recipe is said to be 200 or more years old
Joseph F. Dean

¹ Probably an error for *Arbella*, the English ship which brought the Winthrop party in 1630.

The Crowninshield descent is as follows:

Dr. Johann Kaspar Richter Von Crowninshield
Leipsic, Boston, Mass. d. 1711. Came to N. E. from
St. Thomas, 1694.

Clifford Crowninshield of Salem
b. 1699. d. 1776

John Crowninshield of Salem
b. 1725. d. 1777

Elizabeth Crowninshield - Capt. Joseph Moseley
b. Nixonton, N. C. 1760
d. in North Sea 1799 of Salem.

Abigail Moseley - John Moriarty "gent"
b. 1786. d. 1858 | b. Salem, 1783. d. there 1835
Cashier Salem Bank 1803-35.

Dr. John Moseley Moriarty A. B. (Brown 1827)
M. D. (Harvard 1831). Port Physician of Boston
b. 1807. d. 1865 of Boston.

George Andrews Moriarty
of Boston and Newport, R. I.
b. 1846. d. 1914

George Andrews Moriarty
of Ogunquit, Maine

Harriet C. Moriarty - Rev. Myron D.
b. 1818 | Dean, A. B.
d. 1893 | (Middlebury)
A. M. Brown
& Newton Theol.
Seminary. Minister Providence
and Boston.

Joseph F. Dean
Boston, Mass.

BOOK REVIEWS

THE NEW ENGLAND MERCHANTS IN THE SEVENTEENTH CENTURY. By Bernard Bailyn. 1955, 249 pp., octavo, cloth. Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press. Price, \$4.75.

This is a well documented account of the growth of the merchants in achieving power and social recognition. Mr. Bailyn clearly portrays the struggle between the merchants and the Puritan theocracy, the social development of the times and the development of trade and industry. From the early fishing and the first fur-trading posts, there grew in three generations a large mercantile society. Mr. Bailyn has shown how the families intermarried and spread their influence throughout the communities. Their interests grew from striving to make a simple living to the following fundamental interests—"to maintain connections with highly placed individuals in England; to dominate the colonial councils; to control the English functionaries in the colonial service; and to find a solution of the money problem which had been created by the enforcement of the navigation laws and the imbalance of trade." Those interested in Salem merchants will find mention of Philip English, William Hathorne and William Browne among others. There are bibliographic notes and an index. Recommended to those libraries interested in New England history.

FROM LEXINGTON TO LIBERTY, THE STORY OF THE AMERICAN REVOLUTION. By Bruce Lancaster. 1955, 470 pp., octavo, cloth. Garden City, N. Y.: Doubleday & Company, Inc. Price, \$6.00.

This is an informal history of the American Revolution told in such an easy flowing style that one will not want to lay down the book until one finishes. It is written definitely for the general reader and not the historian. The story of the Revolution is familiar to everyone yet Mr. Lancaster has brought his successful talents of fiction writing to bear and each event appears before our eyes with a vivid freshness. The narrative opens with the events of 1764 which lead up to the Revolution and closes with Washington's farewell to his army. Mr. Lancaster has a keen and accurate eye for detail especially for uniforms, accoutrements, etc. His comparison of the tactics of those times

with those of different periods of history help greatly in making that Revolutionary period live. Modern military terminology does not detract in the least and adds a zestiness to our understanding. He mentions a good many of the legends, traces them back to their sources and lays them in their grave. "Militia fire power deluded America nearly as badly as did the matter of spontaneous mobilization. A legend was bred that all Americans, from the very nature of things, were deadly with firearms. Remember how those farmers left their hearths and rushed into the fields to blast the clumsy British from the roads with their unerring rifles? Many people still remember this, without stopping to think that that memory has almost no foundation. Based on cold figures, the American marksmanship was not merely terrible, it was virtually nonexistent. All that may be said for it is that it was better than the British, who were not trained to aim but only to point their muskets in a rather general direction." Quotes from diaries, letters and orders add materially to the authenticity and liveliness of the narrative. Although there isn't any bibliography as such, sources are mentioned throughout the text in an unobtrusive manner. Recommended to all libraries.

CHANCE OR DESTINY, TURNING POINTS IN AMERICAN HISTORY. By Oscar Handlin. 1955, 220 pp., octavo, cloth. Boston: Little, Brown and Company. Price, \$3.75.

Prof. Handlin has selected eight "turning points in American history" in which chance or destiny have played a part. The events are the surrender of Cornwallis, the Louisiana Purchase, the explosion on the *Princeton* which killed Secretary of State Upshur, Gettysburg, the purchase of Alaska, Roosevelt's cable to Dewey to attack the Philippines the moment war was declared with Spain, the sinking of the *Lusitania*, and the attack on Pearl Harbor. "For the turning points are made of such stuff as these: of a shifting wind and a courtier's slyness, of a woman's greed and an old man's hatred, of a metal's failure and a soldier's blunder. Unplanned encounters enter into the shaping of events and so too thoughtless words, the shape of a young girl's face, and the quirks of character of politicians. These are the ingredients that determine the zigzags of history; and the historian can begin to understand its course only when he perceives that it is a line made up of a succession of points, with every point a turning point." Future events and the

outcome hinged on these sometimes seemingly unrelated facts. Each chapter is an essay complete in itself. Five of these appeared in the *Atlantic Monthly*. Each event is carefully documented; the background is carefully presented; each character is portrayed with a flair for the detail. The book is entertaining and thought provoking. Recommended to all libraries.

TWENTY-FIVE HISTORIC YEARS, HOW AN EXHIBITION, A MAGAZINE AND A LIBRARY BROUGHT NEW LIFE TO A FAMOUS INSTITUTION; THE HISTORY OF THE MASSACHUSETTS HORTICULTURAL SOCIETY FROM MARCH, 1929. By Edward I. Farrington. 1955, 210 pp., octavo, cloth, illus. Boston: The Massachusetts Horticultural Society. Price, \$3.00.

This is a continuation of Albert E. Benson's "History of the Massachusetts Horticultural Society, 1829-1929." It is the story of the magnificent growth of the Society, expansion of the magazine *Horticulture* and a greatly improved library service. The Library has a very enviable collection of old and rare books on horticulture and it is adding to this whenever possible. At the same time it is acquiring the new books in its field. The magazine is celebrating its fiftieth year of publication. Its anniversary edition of October 1954 contained many historical articles and a large number of illustrations. Those interested in horticulture and the Society will find this book interesting and factual.

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THE
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VOL. XCI—OCTOBER, 1955

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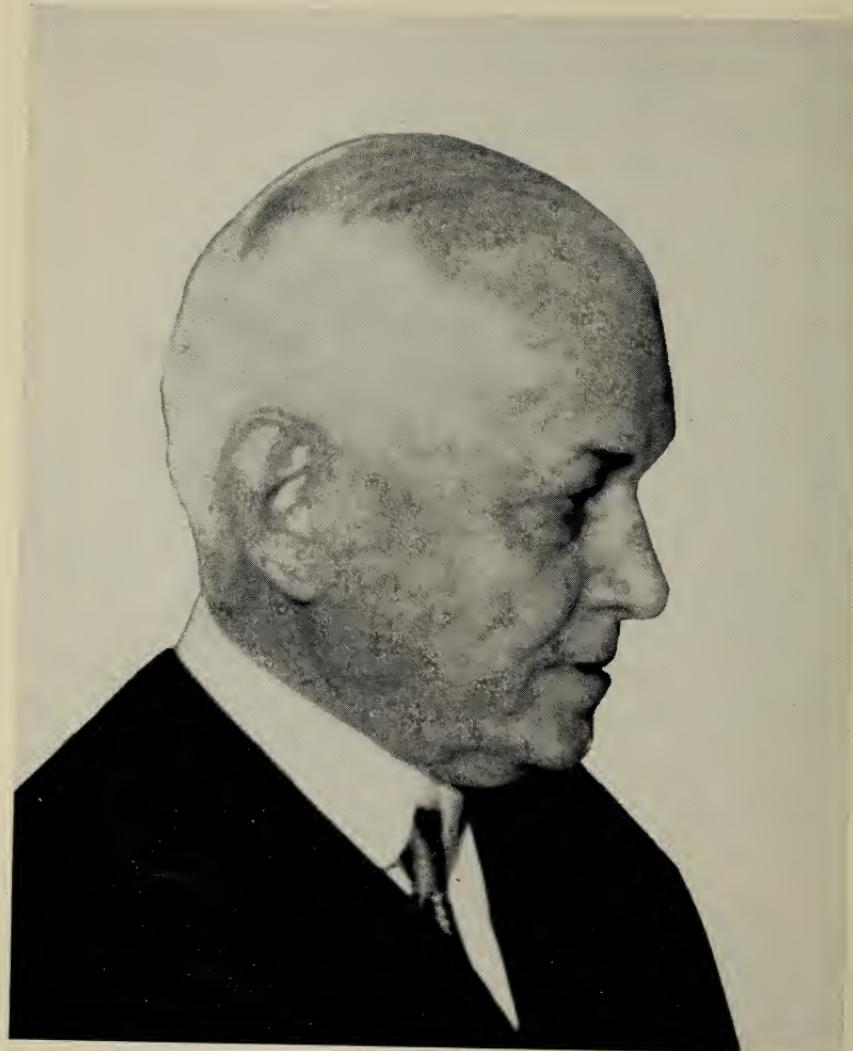
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STEPHEN WILLARD PHILLIPS

ESSEX INSTITUTE

HISTORICAL COLLECTIONS

VOL. XCI

OCTOBER, 1955

No. 4

STEPHEN WILLARD PHILLIPS

Remarks by Rev. Charles E. Park, D. D. of Boston
at the Funeral, July 9, 1955, 34 Chestnut Street, Salem

Lord, who shall abide in thy tabernacle? Who shall dwell in thy holy hill? He that walketh uprightly, and worketh righteousness, and speaketh the truth in his heart.

He that back-biteth not with his tongue, nor doeth evil to his neighbor, nor taketh up a reproach against his neighbor.

In whose eyes a vile person is contemned; but he honoreth them that fear the Lord. He that sweareth to his own hurt and changeth not.

He that putteth not out his money to usury, nor taketh reward against the innocent. He that doeth these things shall never be moved.

Psalm 15.

My Friends:

In every community there is a group of men, perhaps three or four, perhaps three or four hundred, who, because of the weight and substance of their own personalities, determine the cultural index of that community. They are the kind of men who do not take their color from the community, but who give their color to the community. They establish the moral quality of the whole community, its standards, sanctions, ideals and cultural traditions.

In his generation Stephen W. Phillips belongs to that illustrious little company who have made Salem what it is. He was tremendously proud of Salem, her history and achievements; but his pride did not warp his discrimination. He saw Salem's errors and short-comings as clearly as her nobilities and ideals. It became his wholly unconscious task to explain the first, and to emphasize the second. To this

task he gave his best, and has put Salem under lasting obligation to him.

It is easy enough to say that he has gone and Salem has suffered a great loss. In a sense that is true; in another sense it is not true at all. He has not gone and never will go. The best manhood that he had to give has become absorbed into the very fibre and tissue of Salem's being; and to that extent he will be with us as long as Salem endures.

In a more intimate sense, this Fifteenth Psalm which has just been read to you, might have been written for our especial comfort and reassurance on this especial occasion. With one exception the words fit Mr. Phillips so well that they might have been written with him in mind. However that may be, they come to our minds of their own accord at this time, as we gather to speak our last farewell to him.

He walked uprightly and worked righteousness. We think to ourselves: That is only one of those redundancies that are so typical of the Psalms; what is the difference between walking uprightly and working righteousness? But there is a difference, a great one. Many people seem to think that righteousness consists merely in not doing wrong; just to be innocent of evil, inoffensive, morally innocuous is to be righteous.

That kind of righteousness never satisfied him. To him righteousness was something to do, something positive and affirmative and helpful. He not only walked it, he worked it. Few men in their communities have worked more positive, substantial righteousness.

Furthermore, he spoke the truth in his heart; he spoke it fearlessly and bluntly. If he made other people wince it was just too bad, but there was nothing he could do about it. Truth is truth. He was as honest as the sunlight. There was not a trace of sham about him. He looked upon all pretence and evasion with a kind of scorn. In his eyes a vile person was contemptible. But he never failed to honor those who feared the Lord.

He was proud of his own virtues, his fastidious integrity, his faithfulness to trust, his insistence that his word once spoken be kept and his promise once given must be fulfilled no matter what the cost might be. When he recognized

these virtues in another man he was drawn to that man by an irresistible attraction.

As to the exception, according to their Law the Jews were forbidden to put their money out to usury, but that restriction applied only to their fellow Jews. From Gentiles they were free to extort all the usury they could squeeze out of their victims; but from their own countrymen, not a farthing. Of course times have changed from that distant age. Two thousand years mean a lot of change in our ways of looking at things. Today, usury has become the life-blood in our so-called credit structure. For that very reason, usury has become the great obvious opportunity for all unscrupulous men, for what we call questionable practices, devious ingenuities, shady dealings.

It is right here that Mr. Phillips begins to shine with a kind of lustre. In money matters he was as experienced and skillful as the most ingenious rascal who ever lived; but always scrupulously straight and honorable. He was just the kind of man for whom all learned societies and philanthropic associations are searching to be their treasurer; the ideal treasurer of all such enterprises. He handled his trust funds just as carefully and skillfully as his own, perhaps more so; and when the time came for him to resign his office he invariably handed over to his successor a capital fund anywhere from twenty-five to seventy-five per cent larger than it was when he took charge of it. Many an impoverished minister's widow has gratefully wondered how it was that her pension has gradually increased little by little, from year to year, from let us say \$300 to \$500 a year; and has wished she knew whom to thank; and has been surprised to learn that it was this curt, blunt-spoken, hard-boiled treasurer whose name appeared on her quarterly checks.

Such men are never adequately thanked in this world, because the righteousness that they work is so basic, deep-seated, that it is inconspicuous and therefore unsuspected. He never forgot what the money was for. He was the first to resist the slightest irregularity in expenditure; and also the first to insist that poor Mrs. So-in-so, after her recent illness, ought to have a larger pension.

To work with him was to discover that under the crusti-

ness there was a wealth of singularly intelligent and understanding sympathy. Such a man must be appraised, not by his words so much as by his deeds. That takes time. His self-respect was always on guard. His moral principles were uncompromising. He had a normal craving for the world's recognition and appreciation, a crumb of praise occasionally, — just as we all have. But he would not sacrifice an ounce of moral principle for three or four tons of the world's praise.

Such a man needs to be known, deeply and thoroughly. Right there we begin to feel the mystic beauty of this moment. Now that he is gone we seem to know him better. Death has cleansed our own eyesight. We see him more clearly, as a whole, the real man. We find that the admiration and respect that we have felt for him all along have somehow engendered a profound love for him in our hearts; and that among the ennobling influences that we all carry about in our hearts to guide us and help us over the rough spots, one of the sweetest and noblest is the beloved memory of Stephen W. Phillips.

STEPHEN WILLARD PHILLIPS

BORN: January 9, 1873, at Honolulu, Hawaiian Islands

DIED: July 6, 1955, at Salem, Massachusetts

Stephen Willard Phillips, attorney, historian and descendant in the eighth generation of one of New England's oldest families, was the son of Stephen Henry and Margaret (Duncan) Phillips. He was a descendant of the Rev. George Phillips, co-founder of Watertown, Massachusetts. His father was a former attorney general of Massachusetts and of the Kingdom of Hawaii. He was born in Hawaii, but within two years the family moved to San Francisco where his brother Duncan, was born. He used to say his father was "the only lawyer practising in San Francisco at that time who didn't carry a gun." After a few years they moved back to Haverhill, Massachusetts, his mother's home town, where he lived at the corner of Summer and Main Streets in the old Duncan house, now the Pentucket Club. One winter his mother and the boys lived with the Mungers, their North Adams relatives, where boy Stephen had to drive the cows to pasture. From there they moved to Danvers in 1882. Here the two boys used to walk to No. 4 Grammar School and for a short period Stephen W. Phillips attended Danvers High School and later commuted to Salem, where in 1891, he was graduated from the Salem High School.

Mr. Phillips wrote once in relation to the controversy about the residence of John G. Whittier, whether Amesbury or Danvers could claim him, as follows: "I have come across an interesting letter dated 'Danvers, 10th June, 1881,' addressed to 'My Dear Friend, I am spending much of my time at this place, a charming rural spot, 40 minutes ride from Boston, though I regard Amesbury as my home.' This seems pretty conclusive evidence of exactly what he thought the condition was in 1881."

"I lived in Danvers from 1882 to 1888 quite near Oak Knoll. I think it was the feeling of the neighbors at that time that Mr. Whittier was regularly living there. On my

rather long walks home from school I was in the habit, with the consent of Mrs. Woodman, of taking a 'short cut' across the Oak Knoll estate and I very often would see Mr. Whittier on the piazza or walking back and forth on the drive in front of the house. I know that I always regarded him as one of the regular occupants there. My father had known him in the antislavery days and occasionally strolled over and had a little talk with him. When a man spends 'much' of his time for fifteen years in a place I think that place is perfectly justified in speaking of him as a fellow townsman and regarding him as a resident."

It was in the newly-built house on Hamilton Street, Salem, that the boys built a canoe one winter which, with the coming of summer, they checked to White River Junction; then they started a camping trip down the Connecticut River. In succeeding summers, with better canoes, they explored the wild lands of northern Maine. Sometimes he went with his brother and sometimes with classmates, such as Sydney Fenollosa, Richard Wheatland, or Elliott B. Church. Eventually they crossed to Canada, went to Lake St. John, and planned to go up to Misstassini Lake, but they found the way closed by the Hudson Bay Company. These seven or eight years of camping, canoeing and exploring enabled him to read Parkman and various accounts of exploration with great sympathy for the authors; and he never tired of buying and reading books of exploration, his chief interest finally being the voyages of Capt. James Cook. He used to say that as a boy reading on Sunday was restricted to such reading as the Scriptures and related religious subjects. He found this included missionary accounts, even such as Livingstone's "Adventures in Africa", so that at an early age he had read quite a little about the wilder places of the globe, to which worthy missionaries had been.

At Harvard he received an A.B., *magna cum laude*, in 1895 and an LL. B., in 1898. Starting his law career, he was first associated with the firm of Putnam in Boston, but soon established his own office for the private practice of law, eventually devoting himself to trust work and the care of property. For more than twenty-five years he shared offices with his classmate Ellerton James.

As a young man he served several terms in the Salem

City Council and two years in the Massachusetts Legislature.

Mr. Phillips was, with Alfred W. Putnam, one of the earliest members of the Putnam Club, a literary social club of Salem men which began meetings in 1916, its membership limited to twenty-five members. The Club has never boasted a list of officers. One member at each meeting prepares a paper to be read for the entertainment of the Club. Many of the original members have passed away, but new faces are seen to fill the vacancies.

He was an authority on historical works, particularly on the Hawaiian Islands, New England and marine affairs. For many years he was president of the Essex Institute and had served as president of the Club of Odd Volumes, the leading collectors' club in the Boston area.

Mr. Phillips was the first to suggest acquisition of the Peirce-Nichols house and he lost no time in completing the project. He early realized the value of such a building to add to the historical interests of the Essex Institute. Next was the gift of the Pingree house to the Institute from the Pingree family of whom Mr. Phillips' wife and son, together with Richard Wheatland and family, were the donors. Mr. Phillips also made it possible for the Institute to purchase the nearby Safford house. This is a house of the Federal period, dating from the early nineteenth century. In all the projects he exerted much influence and rendered much financial support.

Perhaps his greatest contribution to the publication department of the Institute was the task which he performed in transcribing the "Ship Registers of Salem and Beverly, 1789-1900," from the old records in the Customs House in Salem. Mr. Hitchings was associated with him in this, and it was published in the Historical Collections beginning in 1903 through various numbers, later published in book form. These have been consulted by thousands all over the United States.

Mr. Phillips had great learning and was always prone to lead the conversation as close friends can testify.

He had been Master of the Salem Marine Society and honorary curator of the Polynesian collection of the Peabody Museum in Salem. He had also served many years as

president of the Salem Athenaeum, and had been treasurer of the Massachusetts Congregational Charitable Society, and the Society for Ministerial Relief (Unitarian). He was a member of the Massachusetts Historical Society, the Hawaiian Historical Society, the Colonial Society of Massachusetts, the Council of the American Antiquarian Society of Worcester, and other similar organizations. Active in charitable and public-spirited works, he was treasurer of the Salem Fraternity, the oldest boy's club in America, for fifty years. He was a member of the Unitarian Church and served as treasurer of the North Church in Salem for eighteen years.

In 1899, he married Anna Pingree Wheatland, the sister of his classmate, Richard Wheatland. She died in 1938. He is survived by a son, Stephen Phillips.

REV. WILLIAM S. NICHOLS, Litt.D., contributes the following:

As a close friend, of the earlier and later years, of the late President of the Essex Institute, it may be possible for me, briefly, to record some facts and incidents in his life which will interest his friends. The Phillips family came to live, for a few years, in Danvers. The Hon. Stephen H. Phillips was a man of considerable distinction in appearance, and in the positions he had held. Mrs. Phillips was a tall, handsome, accomplished gentlewoman. They settled on Spring St. in Danvers about 1882. Stephen was nine and Duncan seven, and they lived here until their early teens. They were welcomed into the neighborhood group and very soon proved themselves ready for exploits of daring and sport. Their speech and manners were somewhat different from the

rest of the group and they were hazed at first, but were soon assimilated as true friends. Those were times before the Boy Scout movement, and organized boy and girl camps. There were fields and woods, meadows and brooks, and a river, all within the daily scope of active boys. We were mostly self-taught in Nature lore and in the ways and tricks of the out-door life. We were not exactly a gang of juvenile delinquents, but we often trespassed, and today, with life more stringently regulated, we might have been guilty of wrongdoing. It was a good foundation for the later more mature adventuring with canoe, and traveling, which the Phillips boys indulged in during college and after years.

As a contrast to present day play, and other clothes, the Phillips boys were clad each day in clean starched, Little Lord Fauntleroy suits. Most of us were in patched and ragged clothes. I remember one hot summer day when our play came to a climax with a battle of green apples, and other harmless ammunition, between our group and my older brothers, and our hired man Henry. The high spot of the engagement was when Henry, with unerring aim, landed a soft ripe tomato on the back of Stephen's broad white starched collar. Mother Phillips must have been dismayed when the boys came home that day, and on other days.

One other story of the Phillips in Danvers can be told. On Sunday morning the family used to walk to church, a distance of over two miles. The Hon. Stephen Phillips, in the summer, wore a gray top hat, carried a cane and wore gloves, Mrs. Phillips would be stylishly dressed in a long dress with bustle, of the period, carrying a parasol. In front of them walked Stephen and Duncan, dressed in Eton coats and long trousers, small black top hats, gloves and canes. While the Phillips' church going may have been a little overdone for the country town of Danvers, it was only typical of the church going of that era. The Easter parade of these twentieth century years, is often an idle and vain show, as compared with the sincere and decorous parade of those times.

Stephen entered the Danvers High School. The school at that time did not prepare for college, being only a three years course. In his senior year, Stephen, and one other

boy formed a special advance class in Greek. The Principal, Mr. Burrington, took great delight in showing them off, and most of us were not greatly impressed, because we could not understand why anyone would add another subject to the basic requirements for graduation, which was the only goal we had in mind. Few ever went to college from the school. It was here that Stephen was launched on his way to become the learned man we later admired. His college and graduate school careers at Harvard were brilliant and he entered into his profession of the law well qualified to attain eminence.

Mr. Phillips made his home in Salem and lived on Warren Street until 1912 when they moved to Chestnut Street. He became a member of the Essex Institute in 1902, a member of the Council in 1904, and the president in 1936. He had known the Institute and the nearby Peabody Museum, from boyhood, and the care and upkeep of the buildings and all their contents was as personal to him as if he were the sole trustee. He had been a collector of rare books, paintings and manuscripts, and had a discriminating knowledge of the value and importance of Historical treasures. He knew Salem history, and County history, and the family histories as well. He scrutinized, a favorite word of his, every membership application, as if he would like to admit only those who had good Salem, and County, background. He would not refuse election to others, of course, but he showed evident pleasure when the new member had a well-known family history. He kept the Presidency of the Institute till the end of his life. He spoke a number of times of resigning, and the duties of the office became a burden to him, but his interest was so great, and the Institute affairs had become so much a part of his daily life, that he could not let it go. We often defy age, in refusing to relinquish our personal loves.

During the Phillips term of office there have been many new additions. The Safford house has been acquired and gifts to the collections and museum have been many. Mr. Phillips' contributions, both in money and valuable volumes to the library, have been in keeping with his great interest. He has been a consistent protector of the possessions, and ever reluctant to risk, in loans or exchange, any of what the Institute owned, or had on loan. He felt deeply the

importance of the preservation of Historical articles and the importance of being able to give an accounting, at all times, of any trust held by the corporation.

Stephen W. Phillips was for many years the treasurer of the old North Church before the church was combined with the First Church. He was for years the Treasurer of two denominational ministerial relief societies. The Massachusetts Congregational Charitable Society dated from early colonial days, and existed for both Congregational and Unitarian Ministers, and families. The Society for Ministerial Relief of Unitarian ministers, widows and unmarried daughters, was of especial interest to him. One of his last appointments, that he kept, was to read his annual report to this society in May, which he did, in strong voice and with witty remarks. It is the testimony of those who were closely associated with him in these charitable trusts, that his personal solicitude for beneficiaries, was very sincere and generous.

Mr. Phillips was sometimes called a gentleman of the old school. This characterization needs to be modified. He did retain certain rather formal expressions, and manners, which he learned in early life from the gentle folk of an old school, but he also early adapted himself to all the more modern ways. He was a conserver as well as an accepter of changing times. Perhaps he is best thought of as a true follower of Alexander Pope's advice:

"In words, as fashions, the same rule will hold,
Alike fantastic if too new or old:
Be not the first by whom the new is tried,
Nor yet the last to lay the old aside."

Stephen Willard Phillips, as his old friends best knew him, was an exceedingly interesting story teller, a brilliant conversationalist, fond of good fellowship, a staunch friend, and a true guardian of "all the good the past hath had."

ADDRESSES BY STEPHEN WILLARD PHILLIPS
BEFORE THE PUTNAM CLUB

The South Seas, April 14, 1916
Legends of Hawaii
A Boy's Library
The Collector and his Hobby
The Voyage with the Muskets
The Men of 1760
The Loss of the Wager
Mutiny on the Ship *Globe*
Influence of Cook's Discoveries
Arctic Shore of America
Buccaneer Voyages in the Pacific
Legendary History of Hawaii with some examples of its
unwritten Literature. March 12, 1918

OTHER ADDRESSES

The Death of Captain Cook: some account of the contemporary illustrations. (In Hawaiian Historical Society. Annual Report, 35th, 1926, p. 64-68.)

Introduction to Ship Registers of the district of Gloucester, Massachusetts, 1789-1875. 1944.

Annotations to Ship Registers of the district of Salem and Beverly, Massachusetts, 1789-1900. 1906.

Medals commemorative of Captain James Cook. (In Hawaiian Historical Society. Annual Report, 33rd, 1924, p. 14-15.)

Salem Billiard Club centenary. (In Salem Evening News, Jan. 9, 1939.)

Two Early Paintings of Honolulu; An Early Painting of Honolulu; Oil Painting of Kamehameha I at the Boston Athenaeum, Boston. (In Hawaiian Historical Society. Annual report, 31st, 32nd, 34th, 1922-25.)

Captain Cook and his Exploration of the South Sea, read as a delegate to the Pan-Pacific Congress at the University Club of Honolulu, August 1920.

Scottish-Irish Settlement at Londonderry, N. H., delivered before the Patria at 50 Mt. Vernon Street, May 23, 1919; read before the Putnam Club, November 1923.

One Hundred Years of the North Meeting House. Cleveland Room, Friday, May 22, 1936.

General Officers of the American Revolution, Feb. 26, 1947. Old Salem Chapter S.A.R.

Founding of the North Church. North Church Chapter of the Layman's League, March 8, 1921.

ESSEX INSTITUTE HISTORICAL COLLECTIONS

Further light on the question of the residence of John G. Whittier. Vol. 69, Jan. 1933, p. 89.

Journal kept by James Duncan, Jr. 1806, introduction by Stephen W. Phillips and James Duncan Phillips.

Annual Report Essex Institute, Lecture courses. The Middle Age of Colony and Province (Jan. 1930).

Annual reports, Essex Institute, 1937-46, 48, 49, 51-53.

EVOLUTION OF CAPE ANN ROADS AND TRANSPORTATION, 1623-1955

A talk before the Cape Ann Historical Association
April 11, 1955

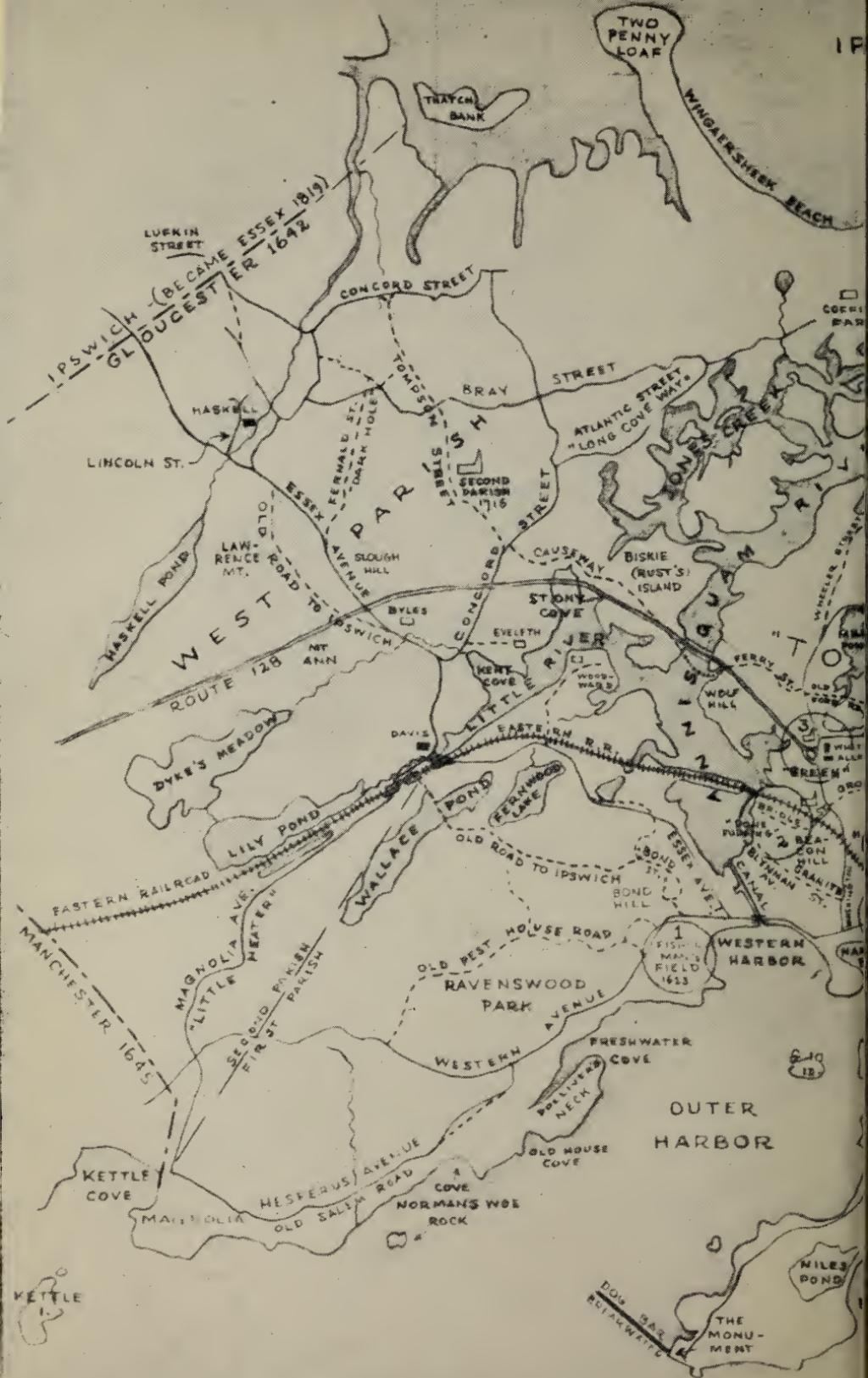
BY THOMAS E. BABSON

Benjamin Webber, Jr., aged 83, started from his home at Fresh Water Cove at sunrise, and walked to Salem, where he took a train to Boston. After conducting some business there he walked to Charlestown and roamed over the field where he had fought (for it was June 17th). He then returned to Boston and took a train to Salem. From there he started home on foot and got as far as Manchester where, being overtaken by the stage, he accepted a ride the rest of the way.

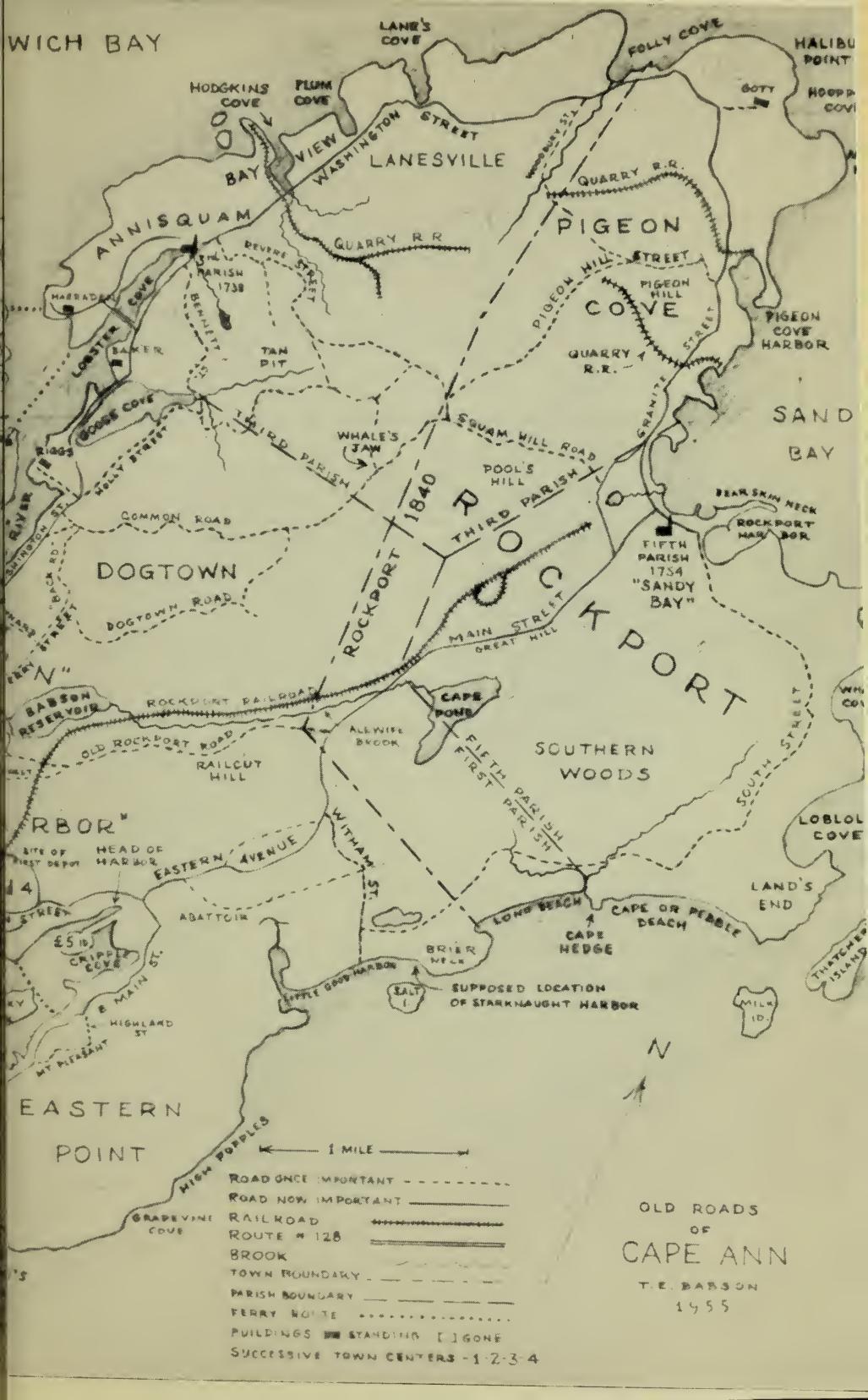
This paraphrases an article that appeared in the Boston Transcript in 1839. If you didn't know the year you could safely bracket it between 1838 when the Eastern Railroad was completed from Boston to Salem, and 1847 when it reached Gloucester. It is an interesting commentary on the state of transportation here at the end of the town's second century.

We shall try to paint a picture of the changes that have taken place in roads and travel habits here from 1623 to the present. This is not offered as scholarly history, for it has been possible to consult few original source records.

The highway patterns of any community are strongly influenced by its geography, its natural resources, and the culture of its people. Let's look first at the Cape's geography. Webster defines a cape as a point or piece of land extending beyond the adjacent coast. One of our old maps marks the small extremity now called Land's End as "Cape Ann." This isn't surprising for it is where sailors changed their courses. Others hold that only the island east of Annisquam River is the cape. By Webster's definition it would include all the land east of a line from Plum Island to Marblehead, which would take in the whole of Gloucester city. Cape Ann might be called a suburb of the sea, for



WICH BAY



OLD ROADS
OF
CAPE ANN

T. E. BARSON
1955

← 1 MILE →
ROAD ONCE IMPORTANT - -----
ROAD NOW IMPORTANT -----
RAILROAD -----
ROUTE # 128 -----
BROOK -----
TOWN BOUNDARY -----
PARISH BOUNDARY -----
FERRY ROUTE -----
BUILDINGS [] STANDING [] GONE
SUCCESSION TOWN CENTERS - 1-2-3

it is to sea that most of its men have gone to work, for three hundred years. Except for fish processing and boat building, there have been only two major industries ashore, — lumbering and granite quarrying. Using Webster's definition, it extends ten miles seaward. All the early navigators knew it as a dangerous place to pass, and some as a place of safe anchorage. It has been as remote by land as it is prominent by sea. The center of Gloucester is fourteen miles east of the main coastal highway, Newburyport turnpike. Handicapping its landward approach were the Magnolia Swamps, tangled woods, and a highland running almost across its west end, — a sort of continental divide, punctuated by Lawrence Mountain, Mt. Hunger, Mt. Ann, Slough Hill, the Second Parish Meeting House Hill and Heart Break Hill, and various great rocks and ledges. West of this "necklace" the streams run into Ipswich Bay, and east of it, into the Annisquam valley.

The surface of the Cape was reshaped in the great ice age. The ice cap wore away a strip of softer granite to form the bed of the Annisquam River; and it lined up the ridges and valleys, the harbor and the general trend of the cape itself in a north-south direction. The melting ice dropped sand and rocks in a chain of spots on the sea-bottom, reaching northeast to Labrador; these are of course the fishing banks. It was nearness to Georges Bank and abundance of migratory and groundfish in the bays that made seafood the Cape's principal natural resource.

The lumber industry lasted about a century, 1640-1740; and so did the granite industry, roughly 1830-1930. The former ended when the timber was gone; the latter was a victim of high costs and the business depression. Stone and lumber have been the Cape's only marketable natural resources other than fish. Both depended for their success upon cheap marine transportation, and this together with some foreign trade and the fisheries called for boats, so that shipbuilding was long an associated industry. However, in an economic sense, more of the Cape's "production" has been conducted on water than on land. This fact has had much to do with shaping the pattern of her highways.

The combined area of Gloucester and Rockport is nearly double that of Manhattan Island. It is nine miles in a

straight line from Halibut Point to Kettle Cove; six miles from High Popples to Thatch Bank. There are about fifty running miles of coast line if we take in the coves and the river. The Annisquam valley divides the Cape about in half and its waters were the first important highways of the community. Everyone had a boat, or a friend that had one. If Major Coffin wanted to go from his farm to 'Squam Point, he could get one of his slaves to row him across the river in a few minutes, — less than a quarter mile. By land, around the heads of all the waterways as the roads then went, would have been a journey of eight miles. From the Green to 'Squam Point, via water from Wheeler's Point, was about two miles; by land around Goose and Lobster Coves, five miles.

The first man-made artery of importance on Cape Ann was the canal. The General Court was urged to consider the project in 1638. Rev. Mr. Blyman completed it in 1643. Since that date it has been out of use for more years than it has been open. Its initial purpose was to profit from tolls on traffic passing the cape, for the seaward circuit was long and often dangerous for small coasting vessels. It would have been interesting to watch the work of cutting the ditch and lining it with stones, with mechanical aids no more advanced than those of the ancient Egyptians, and probably far less available manpower. Little is known of its operation in the first sixty years, but at the opening of the eighteenth century (around 1710) it was serving a local purpose. Mr. Minot of Boston was importing lumber for building rows of houses in the North End of that town, and for Long Wharf. Gloucester vessels engaged in this trade were paying annual tolls for the use of the canal, and 'tis said, doing a little smuggling on the side. It was about this time that the "cutt" as it is called in the early records, began to have trouble with silting up. There was then no breakwater to protect the harbor from southerly storms, which repeatedly blocked the mouth of the canal with sand. In 1704, the then owner, Nathaniel Coit cleared it under an order of the General Court. In 1723, it was choked by the action of a remarkably high tide. The town tried to compel Samuel Stevens to clear it, but refused to finance the work

for him. From then on the cut seems to have been out of use for a century.

By 1823, demand for its reopening for coastwise traffic brought about the formation of the Gloucester Canal Corporation. The work was done within a short time. In August, 1829, a small pleasure steamer named the *Tom Thumb* passed through it on a circuit of the Cape. There was little paying traffic and again it fell into disuse. A hand-operated bridge continued to serve the highway, but it was so expensive to keep in repair that the roadway was filled in solid in 1848. The present canal was opened a few years after the Civil War, primarily to accommodate the Aberdeen Granite Company which was quarrying red granite on Wolf Hill. The company failed, but the canal has remained open. Its mouth was widened and deepened just fifty years ago when the present bridge was built, and it has been further substantially improved since. As it is now part of the nation's system of inland waterways, its future seems secure.

Gloucester did not grow out of a previously existing crossroads. As a pioneer town it created its own highways, both within the community and leading from it. The town's first center was Fisherman's Field (Stage Fort Park). The Dorchester Company colonists had little time or incentive to build roads in the few years they were here (1623-1626). It can be said with some certainty that the second center was on the north and west sides of Beacon Hill, including the stretch of river bank long called "Done Fudging," (1623-1642). On February 8, 1644, the selectmen voted to set aside a half acre for a common burial place between lots owned by certain citizens and "the old meeting house place." This, and references in the records to "Meeting house hill" and later to "the meeting house plain" suggests that the first church building (about 1633) was near the old burying ground on Centennial Avenue (which was first called "Burying Ground Lane"),—some say it stood on what is now Curtis Square. There were people living, in the 1623-1642 interval, on the banks of the river back of the present High School. By 1644, the town center had again been moved. This is the year generally accepted as that of the erection of the second meeting house, at the meeting house green. To this spot for the next century, all

citizens of the Cape had to come for worship, town meetings and elections, and military training,—and the children for what schooling was provided. Roads led from the Green in every direction. Washington Street led south to harbor cove and its village, and north to the end of Wheeler's Point, then known as the "neck of house lots" and now living up to that name. The region around the town landing was called "the harbor" and that around the Green "the town." As recently as a generation ago one going from the Harbor to Riverdale spoke of "going up in town." For many years now the "Harbor" has been the community's center, the fourth in its history. What led the pioneers finally to select the Green as the place around which to build their town? It was near the fresh water of Alewife Brook and the tidewater of Mill River, both of which turned mill wheels. It was close to Annisquam River serving as both highway and harbor. It was hidden from the open ocean then infested with French and Indian enemies and without the protection of a navy. And it was in almost the exact geographical center of Gloucester which then included Rockport.

In spite of the greater convenience of entering or leaving town by sea, it was essential to have roads leading inland. For one thing they would be needed in military emergencies. At the same time the town dedicated the Green to the public use forever as a military training ground (June 3, 1723), it also set aside a tract for similar purposes near the then recently erected Second Parish Church in West Gloucester. At intervals a "general train" was held for the militias of surrounding communities, in Ipswich. Both Ipswich and Salem were shire towns,—that is courts were held there. In the early days marriages were performed by magistrates, and as Gloucester had none, young men going to the General Train took their girls along and had an Ipswich official tie the knot. And of course Gloucester people had relatives and friends in adjoining towns and wanted access to them by land as well as by sea. The dates of the various highways given in municipal records are those on which the town took over their improvement. Many had already been in use for years, as paths or trails blazed out by the earliest settlers. For example, June 2, 1707: voted, "a highway from the Meeting-house Green over to Sandy Bay, where it

is now, and hath been for many years last past made use of."

In typical estate inventories of the first two generations I have found little to suggest the existence of wheeled vehicles. A cart is mentioned in one will, a cart yoke in another, both about 1680. There were drags and sledges drawn by oxen. It is unlikely there were many carts, or any wagons until after 1700, and pleasure vehicles didn't come into general use until much later. In 1717, Moses Prince visited Gloucester and recorded in his diary that he saw there a carriage of two wheels, for two horses, which Captain Robinson, who first gave the name of "schooner" to a vessel, had built for his wife. We can picture the early roads therefore as hardly more than trails or paths, wide enough, at best, to haul lumber on skids and quite satisfactory for travel on horseback. Horses and oxen were in early use here. Local traffic was as often on foot or by boat as by horse.

Among the earliest roads mentioned in town records are: what is now Main Street, September 11, 1642; a common highway out of the woods lying east of Mill River, May 20, 1646, which may have been the present Cherry Street; highway between Gloucester and Ipswich, March 4, 1656; highway across Biskie (now Rust's) Island and from the Island to the main, November 15, 1695; highway through the Harbor (village) to Vinson's Cove, twenty-one feet wide (part of Main Street), and from the town down to the seaside (Washington Street), May 9, 1698. In grants to Zebulon Hill without date, mention is made of a highway that goes along the head of all the harbor lots, which is assumed to be High (now Prospect) Street, from Washington to Pleasant. Two of these early roads led inland,—that between Gloucester and Ipswich 1656, and that across Biskie Island, 1695. Thus there was a road to Ipswich thirty years before the Rust's Island causeway was laid out. The earlier one was undoubtedly an all-the-way-by-land route and could only have led across the canal and around the head of Little River. Since the Essex Avenue causeway was not filled in over the marsh until shortly before 1830, the first link in the old route was Bond Street, or "Apple Row" as some still call it. From the big bend in Bond Street a road used to run westerly, passing south of Mayo's

Swamp (now Fernwood Lake) and issuing onto Magnolia Avenue about opposite the present water pumping station. This accounts for the railroad bridge over what is now called Wallace Court—a little dead-end street with one house on it, running to Wallace Pond, a modern creation. The fact that the railroad had to bridge this road in 1847 confirms its original importance as a main artery. From here the way probably followed the present course of Essex Avenue to a point just beyond New Way Lane which leads to Mt. Ann. It then passed to the left of the present street behind the row of houses now standing on the south side, went through the valley just south of Slough Hill instead of over it as the roadway now goes, (old roads dodged hills if they could) and came back onto Essex Avenue about opposite the West Gloucester Grange, thus partly following the Lawrence Mountain road. When you got as far as Harlow Street, in the years before 1819, you were in Ipswich, for until that year Essex was the Chebacco Parish of Ipswich.

Until relatively recent times every community had to be agriculturally self-supporting unless it was exceptionally rich in other natural resources. West Gloucester began early to develop as a farming area. By 1688 one-third of the Cape's population lived west of the Annisquam. These people were obliged to go to the Green to church, an average distance of five or six miles by land, but less than half as far via Biskie Island and 'Squam River. This accounts for the 1695 road from Concord Street across the marsh to Rust's Island, and for the granting of a franchise by the town to Samuel Hodgkins to conduct a ferry from there to Ferry Hill. Hodgkins was required to keep a good canoe to carry over single persons and a boat that would carry two horses at a time in bad weather and three in good; fare, one penny per person, two-pence for a horse. The town fathers considered a bridge over the river at this point in 1759, but decided it was not feasible. Meanwhile the Hodgkins family conducted the ferry for over a century. Now we have the bridge,—which ought to have been named for the Hodgkins ferry.

The causeway "from the island to the main" is one of our most ancient highways remaining unchanged and unspoiled.

You can see it clearly to your right going out of town on route 128, just before reaching the Concord Street exit. Nearly opposite its junction with Concord Street, a road continued in the same direction northwest over the hill. This was Tompson Street. At the highest point on this thoroughfare, named for their first minister, the people west of the Annisquam built their meeting house when they were granted permission to establish the second parish of the town, in 1716. It stood until 1846. Over the hill, to the north, is their burying ground, now lost in a tangle. The ferry route provided a somewhat shorter way to Ipswich, via Tompson, Bray and Concord Streets to Lufkin Street. Further evidence that the first road to Ipswich led around the head of Little River is found in the vote of the town March 30, 1719, for a highway "from the cut road toward Ipswich to the highway that runs from the meeting house, in the second precinct, to the ferry." This must have been the section of Concord Street from Essex Avenue to the junction of Tompson Street and the ferry causeway. The canal is almost always called the "cut" in early town records. The cut road therefore must mean that crossing the canal; and the words "towards Ipswich" would infer that it was some distance along it that the new one took off. On the same date this link was authorized, the town fathers provided for a highway known as Long Cove Way. This is the stretch of Atlantic Street from the northern and probably older part of Concord Street to the eastern end of Bray Street. It led to Long Cove, the name then given to an arm of Jones Creek, or perhaps to the whole creek itself, which was then of economic importance. Three years later, on April 2, 1722, a road was voted to connect Coffin's farm,—directly opposite Annisquam Village, with Long Cove Way. This is the street now leading to Wingaersheek Beach and provided 'Squam people with a direct route to Ipswich over their ferry.

It may be of interest to note the relationship between pioneer houses and roads. Most of the early dwellings were built near tidewater, from lumber cut on the spot or brought short distances by boat. The existence of roads was not essential to their construction. However, the occupants would need, sooner or later, to be able to travel from their

homes by land as well as water. For example, the Stanwood house which stood until some thirty years ago on Stanwood's Point in Fernwood, probably erected about 1707, when Ezekiel Woodward bought of Jacob Davis the farm along the south side of Little River; how was this reached by land? The logical route would be via the upper end of Bond Street, following roughly the present course of Essex Avenue, and down Stanwood Avenue. Essex Avenue over the hill from Stanwood Crossing to the head of Little River was a later development supplanting the old road back of Fernwood Lake.

We have spoken of the laying out of Concord Street from Essex Avenue to the ferry causeway in 1719. About the year 1700 one of the Eveleth family built a house on Presson's Point, whose foundation can still be seen. The lane running to its site undoubtedly antedates the rest of the southern end of Concord Street. It may have had another house on it. Kent's Cove which penetrates inland from Little River between Essex Avenue and Presson's Point takes its name from Thomas Kent who had a house and several acres of land in the vicinity, which he sold to Richard Dyke in 1667. Kent's great-great-grandson James has been known to generations of lawyers as the author of "Kent's Commentaries."

Some account has been given of the West Parish roads and those leading to Ipswich. Now what of the roads toward Salem? In spite of the ease of travel between Gloucester and Salem by water, there was undoubtedly a land trail connecting them, used by the earliest permanent settlers, and perhaps laid out by the Dorchester pioneers in 1626, when they selected a new site on Salem's North River and came back to get their gear. There are two roads referred to as old Salem roads. One is that running through Ravenswood Park, otherwise called less elegantly "Old Pest House Road." In 1777 a small isolation hospital was built on it, for people with smallpox. At about that time several families were living on this street and there are several cellars still to be seen there. Hesperus Avenue is also called the "old path to Salem." It is hard to visualize both as being parts of the same route, because they leave Gloucester in quite different directions, but our history is long, and there

could have been two separate roads to Salem, laid out many years apart, and both be called "early." For these highways we have no dates, but on May 11, 1726, the selectmen called for a road from "Salem Road to Fresh Water Cove." In his (published) diary, Rev. William Bentley of Salem gives a lively description of a ride around Cape Ann in a chaise in May, 1799. Of his approach to Gloucester he says: "We found the road through Cape Ann Woods much assisted by the new road but there remains one-half mile unfinished to remind the traveler what that road once was, and lately has been. We were told that \$300 has been appropriated by the town to finish the work as the three classes of lotteries were incompetent." On May 26, 1724, a highway is voted from the head of Little River to Kettle Cove, the present Magnolia Avenue, or "Little Heater" road. It is to be wondered what induced the town fathers to spend money on this thoroughfare,—perhaps it was to bring out lumber, or to afford the West Parishioners a short cut toward Salem.

There was formerly a small hill just west of the canal's exit about where Kent Circle now is, and the road going toward Salem passed in back of it. It was necessary to go a few hundred feet up Essex Avenue to make the circuit. I have the year 1868 as that in which this obstruction was leveled, although further improvements seem to have been made in this area around 1892. We can guess that it may have been composed in part of material excavated from the canal. It has been said that its removal led to the designation of Western Avenue as the "cut road," but it seems more likely the reference is to the canal. Few of our surviving improved streets follow the precise courses of their predecessors. Some now take short cuts over hills. Curves have been straightened, grades leveled, roadways widened. Signs of former meanderings are not hard to find.

Let's move now to the east side of Annisquam River and see what has happened to the roads on the island part of the Cape. Hodgkins' ferry landed at Trynall Cove, so called because oaks used to grow there whose branches were used in making "tree nails" (trunnels), with which ship and house frames were pegged together. From here the passengers walked up Ferry Lane and down Washington Street to the Green,—or if the tide was very high the ferrymen

might put into Ellery Cove, now covered by the traffic circle. At one time there was a road leading off Washington Street nearly opposite Ferry Lane running down over the fields and across the Mill Pond, and connecting with Cherry Street and the old Rockport road. All awareness of this road seems to have been lost until the year 1916, when Marvin M. Taylor observed a slight almost imperceptible ridge running eastward from Washington, and decided to investigate. On the other side of the pond he found a similar contour to the land, at the upper end of which was a break in a stone wall so old it had sunk deeply into the ground. He got William Vivian to join in the research and together they sounded with crowbars the edges of the pond where such a road might have crossed and found legs laid side by side in the bed, with a covering of gravel, over which about ten inches of sedimentary mud had accumulated. The present Old Ford Road in Riverdale Park passes over part of the original, and is named for it. During its construction, stone underpinnings of the pioneer road were unearthed.

When the people of the old First Parish were divided and locked in battle over the insistence of those living at the Harbor that the church be moved there, with those near the Green and in Dogtown opposed, Joseph Batchelder was engaged to survey the distances each householder had to travel to church. On his map, made in 1742, he indicates a road closely following the course of the new one recently extended from the Green directly into Riverdale Park. This road ends, on the map, at about the point where its intersection with old Ford Road might have been, but the Ford Road doesn't show, and so it must have gone out of use at a very early date. The logs, well-preserved as long as they remained under water, could have been placed there three centuries ago.

The so-called old Rockport road, improved in 1707, must first have been a lumber road. It paralleled Alewife Brook and so led to the early mill on that stream at Beaver Dam, near the Eastern Avenue end. When first used it probably didn't go through to Sandy Bay. It would not be surprising if its first destination was Starknaught Harbor.

Since the cutting of lumber and cordwood was an industry perhaps of greater importance than the fisheries for the

major part of the first century of the town, it had an important bearing on the courses of the early trails. As far back as 1642 a fine of ten shillings was set for selling timber out of town without permission; in 1644, ten shillings for cutting a timber tree (standing or fallen) without leave. This suggests that large logs were needed locally for building ships and houses. In 1649, timber grants had to be registered at a fee of four pence, and the fine for cutting unrecorded timber was fifteen shillings per tree. By 1667, it appears a good market for cordwood had developed outside the Cape, and cutting it was permitted for a distance of 660 feet back from the sea all the way from Brace's Cove on Eastern Point to Plum Cove on the Cape's north side. But care was still taken to preserve timber trees: in 1670 trees "marked with a necks" (x) were to be left for timber, or to "bear ackhorns." Allen Chamberlain, whose valuable book on "Pigeon Cove, its Early Settlers and their Farms" was published in 1940, believed the original forest of Cape Ann was greatly superior in species to those on the adjacent mainland. On this subject reference is also made to an article by Robert Grayce, "Cape Ann Forests", in Essex Institute Historical Collections, July, 1952.

In 1688, eighty-two six-acre lots were distributed to the town's Commoners, from Lane's Cove to Sandy Bay Cove. In 1708, the southern woods, so called, were similarly divided, from Sandy Bay Cove to Loblolly Cove. And in 1723, a final division covered all land west of the 1708 lots and between the 1688 subdivision and Great Hill and Dogtown. Charles E. Mann, historian of Dogtown, says the lots in that village were distributed in 1719, which he designates as the beginning year of its settlement. Many of these lots were valued at the time for their trees, but by 1742, the centenary of the town's incorporation, most of them had probably been cut into lumber. Logs were at first squared with adzes for framing, or cut into boards in sawpits for floors and siding. As mills were built, first on Alewife Brook, and then one by one until practically every stream had been put to work, water power took over this back-breaking work.

The lumber being shipped through the canal to Boston in the early 1700's was obviously not cordwood. It could

have come from the Annisquam Valley, but more likely was obtained from farther up the coast, even though Gloucester vessels were engaged in this trade. Cordwood was probably shipped from the various coves and harbors around the outer rim of the Cape, such as Starknaught Harbor. This place is mentioned a few times by name in Babson's "History of the Town of Gloucester," but nothing is said of its precise location or character. On July 10, 1704, the town voted a highway from the head of Gloucester harbor to Starknaught Harbor; and on June 22, 1708, a highway from Sandy Bay to the same point. It therefore must have had some economic significance at the time. Its site seems to have been at or not far from the foot of the ancient thoroughfare now called Witham Street, known to old timers as the Joppa Road. There is nothing that could be called a harbor there today. It was not identical with Little Good Harbor (meaning "not much good"), for Robert Elwell's will made in 1683 leaves to his son John three acres of meadow at Little Good Harbor, and to son Thomas, an acre of meadow or marsh at Starknaught Harbor.

About seventeen years ago when titles were being searched to establish the town's right to Little Good Harbor beach, evidence was found that a fresh-water stream once flowed into the ocean at the east end of the beach. There may have been an estuary here capable of docking one or two small vessels, behind Salt Island, or on the other side of Brier Neck, which storms or drifting sand eventually blocked. If so it must have become useless within a very few years. Some think there was never a real harbor here, but that boats were merely beached at one high tide and floated off in the next, but the word "harbor" suggests otherwise. The area back of the High School on the river has been called "Done Fudging" from time immemorial. Fudging was poling a boat. Flatboats called gundalows (a corruption of gondola) were used extensively in New England's tidal rivers for many years, especially for bringing salt hay from the marshes. Some say Done Fudging was so named because it was the point on the river at which the tide became favorable, depending on your direction and that of the tide at the time—the flow and ebb here dividing between the river and the canal. It more probably meant the place on

the river where a poling voyage ended, for during the many years when the canal was not in use, this was the port of Gloucester on the river side. Done Fudging is another spot once of local importance,—to which roads ran, around each side of Beacon Hill, Burying Ground Lane (Bridge Street or Centennial Avenue) on the north—and Granite Street-Blynman Avenue on the south. Almost opposite where Centennial Avenue leaves Washington Street is Grove Street, which once connected with the old Rockport road, affording a direct route from Done Fudging to either Sandy Bay or Starknaught.

On March 20, 1704, the town voted a road from the head of the harbor to Cripple Cove and so along the pasture of William Stevens. (deceased) This led to Eastern Point, and until some seventy-five years ago, the way went up Highland Street at the center of East Gloucester, and down Mt. Pleasant Avenue. Eastern Point's tip was long called "the monument," from the pile of stones that preceded the lighthouse, on top of which a beacon was then kept to mark the entrance to the harbor. There used to be a grove of trees here and the spot was popular for picnics. The museum has a small painting of it, made about a century and a half ago. Rev. Mr. Bentley gives an account, in his diary, of a picnic he attended here in June, 1791. (Volume I, pages 265-267 are worth reading.)

How early was it possible to go 'round the cape on fairly well-defined roads? On October 21, 1707, a highway was voted "round the Cape from Mr. Samuel Gott's to the gravel pit by the grist mill." This gravel pit seems to have been on Reynard Street close to where the Riggs School now stands. Samuel Gott had by then settled at Halibut Point. On the eastern side, roads have been accounted for as far as Rockport (from the head of the harbor to Starknaught in 1704, and from Sandy Bay to Beaver Dam, part of the old Rockport road, which together have become Eastern Avenue in Gloucester and Main Street in Rockport). The only link remaining to be closed in the circuit of the Cape was that from Sandy Bay to Halibut Point or Folly Cove. This was connected by provision March 19, 1716 for a road "on the back side of the Cape from near Folly Cove to Sandy Bay Brook." Thus by 1716 you could have circled

the Cape by the same general route as is followed today except for passing in back of Goose Cove. Many sections of this circumferential highway have been straightened or relocated over the years. The railroad running into Rockport needed the easy grade through the vale from opposite Cape Pond to its terminus; this is why Main Street, Rockport, has since climbed over Great Hill.

The irregular patterns of land and water called for ferries and bridges. The ferries came first. Besides the Hodgkin's service across the Annisquam between Trynall Cove and Biskie Island, there were others,—from 'Squam Point to Coffin's Farm, from Wheeler's Point to 'Squam, across Goose Cove, and perhaps elsewhere. At least as early as 1851, a ferry had started service across Gloucester harbor, using sloops which must at times have had to be assisted by oars. Later steam replaced sail, but as late as 1882, sailboats continued to operate on Sundays. In the museum there is a model of the steam ferry "Little Giant" which shuttled for many years between Duncan Point and East Gloucester, touching at Rocky Neck. The other ferries were less formal and regular and used boats that were rowed or poled.

Sometimes cultural factors, in addition to geography and natural resources, affect road patterns of a community. Gloucester's settlers were part of a culture built around the Puritan church. There was a moral compulsion to attend public worship, although here it met with many discouragements in consequence of long distances, wars and the general poverty of our people for long periods. From 1644 until 1716, people from all over the Cape had to go to the Green to church. In the latter year people living west of the Annisquam and of a line from the head of Little River to Kettle Cove began attending the Second Parish church on Tompson Street. Beginning in 1728 those living north of Goose Cove and east to the ocean, including the hamlet of Pigeon Cove, attended the church of the Third Parish at the head of Lobster Cove. All others continued to attend worship at the meetinghouse on the Green until 1738; from that year to 1742 there were two first parish church buildings,—one having been erected on Middle Street at the Harbor. Then the meetinghouse in the Old Town became that of the Fourth Parish and that at the Harbor of the

First. The Fifth or Sandy Bay Parish was set off in 1754. Each of these changes altered the routes followed by the people in attending church services. About the year 1700, the villages of Pigeon Cove and Sandy Bay began to be settled. From then until 1728, Pigeon Cove folks walked or rode their horses across the Cape to the Green via Pigeon Hill Street, over the common, and through Cherry Street to the head of the Mill Pond. After 1728, they went to 'Squam church, passing north of the common and coming out Revere Street over Samp Porridge Hill. Sandy Bay people used the old Rockport road to the Green until they got a church of their own just 200 years ago. Of course these ancient cross-cape trails were used for purposes other than going to church. Rockport mariners fishing in Ipswich Bay sometimes found the weather too rough for rounding Halibut (more properly "Haul-About") Point in which event they anchored their boats in Goose Cove and walked home over the 'Squam Hill Road. People in Sandy Bay having business or social errands in Annisquam went via 'Squam Hill Road and came out on Revere Street. The interesting point is that not a single continuous modern road now follows the course of any of these trails that led across the middle part of the Cape.

The Dogtown roads were laid out around lots in one of the last divisions of common lands in 1719. Reynard Street had been cut through in 1707. Cherry Street was part of the main route from the Green via Poplar Street to 'Squam, and the stretch between Reynard and Gee Avenue came to be called the Back Road when Washington Street was extended from the grist mill to Gee Avenue. The other two roads in the settlement were the Commons Road on the north and the roughly parallel Dogtown Road on the south, connected at their eastern extremities by a vague path called, in later years, Wharf Road, from the name of a family that once lived on it. Sons and daughters of the second and third pioneer generations were the original settlers of this area. It was a farm community, but the backbreaking work of raising crops there led to its abandonment shortly after the Revolution. It was during the long years of its decay, 1790-1840, that the half-true tales of witchcraft, fortunetelling and herb-brewing, and the all-too-true stories of low

life gave it a reputation not merited in its earlier decent state.

The division of the Puritan church into parishes and the gradual introduction of other creeds greatly reduced distances people had to travel to attend worship. Meanwhile the interior of the island, bereft of its lumber, was found unsuited to agriculture, inducing more and more men to enter seafaring pursuits. The periphery highways therefore became increasingly important and were constantly improved while interior roads were neglected. The roadway of Washington Street had probably been extended across the mill dam at Riverdale about the time Reynard Street was laid out, in 1707. Much later it was continued up the Methodist meetinghouse hill to Gee Avenue. Mason shows, on his 1831 map, a bridge across Goose Cove, although the tide mill there was of somewhat later date. This eliminated the rugged climb up Holly Street over Pilgrim Hill, and the even rougher Bennett Street, in passing from the Harbor to Annisquam Village. Before the bridge was built over Lobster Cove, people bound for 'Squam sometimes took off their shoes and stockings and waded across the upper part, if the tide was low, to save the long walk around its head. A bridge was built across it in 1848, with a toll house in the middle. The town took it over on October 7, 1859.

The exact population of Gloucester when it was incorporated in 1642 is not known, but it could not have been much over one hundred. By the end of the first hundred years it had increased to about one thousand. The second century saw a seven-fold growth to 7000 and the third a four-fold increase to about 28,000. These are, of course, round figures. So we are contemplating a small population in a large area. By contrast Manhattan Island, only a little more than half as big, but greatly favored by its geographical situation, has two million people. The physical evidences of its historical evolution are buried under tons of asphalt and masonry. But here we find on every side some token of each of our past eras, back to the very beginning, and we can supplement the study of our history with field trips, which makes it doubly interesting. The little book "Along the Old Roads of Cape Ann," published by this Association in 1923 exemplifies this point. There are, incidentally, a

few copies still on sale at the museum, and it is truly a collector's item.

In its first century the community was economically almost entirely self-supporting. People raised their own grain and vegetables, sheep, hogs, oxen, cows and horses. There was plenty of salt hay from the marshes for feed and bedding; and lumber for building, and cordwood for heat (more wood was cut to burn than to build, for it was virtually the only fuel); thatch grass for roofs, sand to spread on home floors. There were clam shells to grind up and mix with salt hay and animal hairs for plaster; and some clay for mortar and pottery. From their animals they got not only meat, but leather for shoes and harness which they tanned with oak or hemlock, fats for candles, soap and cooking, wool for clothing, manure for fertilizer. About the only essentials imported were metals and brick. Their factories were their homes, barns, cobblers' and carpenters' shops, tan pits, smithies and mills. These were scattered over nearly the whole area of the Cape, which made many localities much more important than they are today. Every stream with any real flow had its mill. There were fifteen in 1771,—saw mills, grist mills and fulling mills,—two or three each on Alewife Brook and Walker's Creek, one each at Cape Hedge, Sandy Bay, Folly Cove, Goose Cove, Mill Pond, Lily Pond, Pavilion Beach and other places. There was a tan pit off Revere Street, a slaughter house out on Eastern Avenue where Nugent's is today; ropewalks at Pavilion Beach (the Boulevard) and along the line of the present Dale Avenue; and shipyards in the harbor, at Done Fudging and at 'Squam, among others. Vessels were fitted for fishing at Stony Cove, Done Fudging, Wheeler's Point, Riggs' Point, Baker's or Norwood's Point, Long Cove, Coffin's Creek, Goose Cove, Babson's and Haraden's Points in 'Squam. There were windmills where the Tavern now stands, and on the site of the Collins School (once called Wind Mill Hill).

The cutting of granite which flourished for about a century beginning around 1830 re-opened some of the cross-cape lanes, and created others leading down to shipping points at Rockport, Pigeon Cove, Lanesville, Lobster Cove, Bay View, Little River and Jones' Creek. Little steam rail-

roads hauled stone from quarry to pier in Pigeon Cove and Rockport and at Hodgkins Cove, and one powered by horses at Stony Cove on Little River. Roads that today serve only the convenience of residents were formerly vital to industry. When travel was only by horse or on foot there were many taverns. Three in West Parish, one at Done Fudging, two at 'Squam, two at the Green, two or more at Sandy Bay besides several at the Harbor can readily be accounted for,—providing rest and refreshment for man and beast.

In the second century some foreign trade developed and by trading from port to port in Europe and the Orient, merchants of Gloucester parleyed fish into fortunes, in the course of which objects of art came into local homes, many of which are now to be seen in the museum. However, wines, exotic fruits, china and silks were for the few. It was not foreign trade, but the development of the factory system in this country and the inadequacy of local agriculture that spelled the end of home industry here. Fishing was what Cape Anners could do best and it came to be more and more relied upon to provide the wherewithal for buying living needs from outside. The business of processing the products of the sea centered in the harbor and this contributed heavily to the decline in the industrial importance of the Cape's network of ancient highways. The area meanwhile underwent a revolution in its modes of transportation,—in several phases.

This is essentially a story of Gloucester on land, but travel by water to and from the town is part of the history of its transportation. Before the railroad came, people moved along the Eastern seaboard more by water than by land. Sailing packets plied from Maine to the Carolinas and there was closer communion between the residents of, say, Charleston, S. C., and Gloucester in Colonial and early Federal days than exists today,— although the intercourse was more commercial than social in nature. Steamboat service from this port began about the time the railroad came. The *Str. Telegraph* made Gloucester stops during the summer months of 1843-44. Another predecessor of scheduled service was the *Str. Yacht* perhaps so named to suggest that it was nicknamed "Propeller" by conventional men-of-sail, was as safe as a sailing vessel. Its commander, Capt. Davis,

thereby expressing their contempt for one who would expose his passengers to smoke, ashes and the danger of fire or boiler explosion, as well as for his ridiculous craft. In 1859, the Str. *Mystic* was chartered and later purchased by a local company for regular runs to Boston. She was taken by the Government in 1861 to serve the Union army as a transport. An advertisement in the first Gloucester directory (1860) says she had just been overhauled, enlarged and expressly fitted for a sea-route, was commanded by Capt. William Godfrey, and left steamboat wharf, Gloucester, at 7½ o'clock A.M. for Boston; returning, left Eastern Railroad Wharf, Boston, at 4 P.M. The fare was 50¢. After the war, service was sporadic. Several steamers ran summer excursions,— the N. P. *Banks*, the W. W. *Coit*, the *Escort* and the *Regulator* (the last so named because it was intended, by low fares, to "regulate" the rates charged by the railroad). In 1870, the Boston & Gloucester Steamboat Company began regular scheduled runs with the Str. *George A. Chaffee*. Thirteen years later the company had built to its order the Str. *City of Gloucester* to alternate with the *Chaffee*. On her maiden voyage to Boston, July 27, 1883, with the Gloucester Cornet Band for entertainment and Johnny Morgan as caterer, the sea was so rough that she had to turn back at Half Way Rock. On June 26, 1924, while taking the Ancient & Honorable Artillery Company on an excursion twelve miles seaward (during prohibition), her mainmast was shattered by lightning. She ended her days in freight service between New York and Connecticut and was destroyed by fire in 1930. In 1895, the *City* was joined by the Str. *Cape Ann*. Both vessels ran summers, the *City* alone in Winter. The *Cape* was sold in 1917 to the French Government for \$200,000 after extensive alterations, taken to Brest, France, and renamed *Seminole*. According to Gordon Thomas, her name disappeared from Lloyd's register in 1926. The *City* was black, high-sided, stubby and no beauty; the *Cape* white, graceful,—with sweet lines as a shipwright would say. They ran on schedule leaving Gloucester at 3 and 7 A.M., and Boston at 10 A.M. and 2 P.M., varying an hour or so over the years. The sea trip along the North Shore in summer was very popular. The line offered keen competition to the railroad on many

kinds of freight. Mounting operating costs finally put an end to the Boston & Gloucester Steamboat Company, as they did to practically every other such enterprise along the coast. The *City of Gloucester* continued to operate after World War I, and made its last run to Boston July 18, 1925.

Gloucester's earliest formal transportation system was the stage coach service to Boston, inaugurated April 25, 1788 by Jonathan Lowe. This was 167 years ago, at which time the community was already 165 years old. Coaches left the corner of Main and Washington Streets twice weekly, returning the next day. The route was via Salem, Danvers, Lynn and Malden, following in part the Old Bay Road, and across the Winnisimmet Ferry to Boston. It took nearly all day. In 1788, there were only four other stage lines entering Boston,—those from Salem, Portsmouth, Providence and New York. The schedule was stepped up to tri-weekly after a few years. In 1805, daily service began with four-horse coaches, and finally there were two daily departures and one could go to Boston and return the same day. The stages provided the town's only regular interurban service for sixty years, until the railroad and steamers came. On August 27, 1838 fifty years after initiation of the stage service, the Eastern Railroad ran its first train from Boston to Salem. It was in the following June that Benjamin Webber made his trip to Boston. Perhaps his reason for walking to Salem was to save the stage fare to spend riding on the new railroad. He may have been the first to make a round trip from Gloucester to Boston in one day without riding both ways by stage or horse.

The coming of the railroad sounded the death knell of the express stage lines. Meanwhile this older form of transportation had spread its tentacles far and wide from Boston up through Maine, and the lines had nearly all been consolidated under the control of a great "trust," the Eastern Stage Company which, at the height of its prosperity, owned 13,000 horses. Schedules averaged eight miles per hour, calling for fresh horses at frequent intervals, and a big investment in inns, stables and hostler service. Slower-moving freight wagons handled merchandise and raw materials. One locomotive could haul several coaches three times as fast as the express stages, didn't get tired, and had no

muddy roads or steep hills to contend with. It fed on wood and water available along the right of way. Horse-drawn vehicles couldn't meet this competition. The stages from Gloucester ran only to Salem when the railroad reached there, in 1838. A few years later work was started on extending the line to Gloucester, and the first train arrived here November 2, 1847. As the track moved closer and closer, stages ran from the Harbor to the advancing railhead, —Montserrat, Prides, Beverly Farms, Manchester. Stage service bowed out almost precisely sixty years after Mr. Lowe's enterprise began. At the time the rails reached Gloucester, box-like two-truck cars were just beginning to replace the stage-type coaches on America's railways. They were coupled together with large links, making it necessary to jump from car to car (which passengers were not supposed to do, but did). Trains were joggled to a stop with hand brakes. For winter comfort several inches of straw was spread on car floors (a practice that lasted from stage coach to horse car), and a little later wood stoves were installed in each coach. Locomotive boilers were beginning to be built horizontally instead of vertically. Until about 1848, engines had no cabs. Roadbeds were of dirt and gravel and passengers wore dusters to protect their clothes from grit as well as smoke and ashes.

Rail lines were single-tracked, with turnouts at intervals. Signals and telegraph came later. Conductors had only watch and time table to go by. If, on arrival at a siding, the train to be met was late, the first just waited the regulation length of time — perhaps an hour — and then proceeded, frequently with dire results. Of course signals and telegraph came into use long before the Gloucester branch was double-tracked, about 50 years ago. The mileage to Boston was shorter than it is now; the terminus there was at Noddles Island (now East Boston) twenty-six miles from Gloucester and passengers ferried from there to Boston. In 1851, a detour was laid from Revere in a big circle to Causeway Street, eliminating the ferry but adding six rail miles. Stations along the line were equipped with bells from old Spanish churches to announce the arrival of trains. Gloucester's first depot straddled the end of the track about where the freight station now stands. The Gloucester directory

of 1860 gives the winter schedule for trains,—three each way daily, leaving Gloucester 7:30 and 10 A.M., and 4 P.M., and from Boston 7:30 A.M. and 12:15 and 4:15 P.M.

Rockport wanted the railroad extended there, but the Eastern R.R. could not be persuaded that it would pay. So the people raised their own money, mostly through the town government, organized the Rockport Railroad Company and connected it with the Eastern at Gloucester. By arrangement the Eastern ran its trains through to Sandy Bay, the first arriving there November 4, 1861. Seven years later the Eastern bought the Rockport R.R. for the cost of construction. It had meanwhile paid dividends averaging 8% per annum. Extending the track to Rockport made necessary a radical curve on the Gloucester end. This took the old depot off the main line and a new one was eventually built at the present site. While the railroad replaced express stage coach lines, it stimulated the creation of local lines of stages or "barges" to "meet all trains." Pioneers in these ventures were E. W. and W. W. Chard who established a line between Annisquam and the Harbor around 1850, selling out to James A. Cunningham nine years later. In 1859 coaches left "Squam Port" daily at 6:30 A.M. and 12:30 and 3 P.M., and Gloucester Harbor at 9 A.M. and 1:45 and 5:45 P.M. Levi Shaw then had a line connecting Gloucester with Rockport; Benkelly Munsey to Lanesville, William H. Story to West Gloucester and Essex. Surprisingly also in 1859, T. Calvin Trask had stages running to Manchester, Beverly and Salem, catering to patronage like that of inter-urban electric cars 35 years later. In 1885, rails began to be laid in Gloucester streets. On circus day, June 14, 1886, the first horse car ran from the old post office (where Woolworth's now is) through Pleasant and Prospect Streets to the depot. The first horse car from Riverdale to the depot ran on May 25, 1889, making the trip in twelve minutes. Electricity moved in almost at once to replace horses. Within the year 1890, you could have seen stages, horse cars and electric cars operating here.

In private transportation, the years between the Civil War and World War I saw carriages come into full flower,—from the two-wheeled chaises of earlier days to the su-

preme creations of the parasol era,—cabriolets, landaus, barouches, victorias and broughams mingling with every-day buggies. This was not unique with Gloucester, but the show was enhanced by its summer visitors. These were the years in which increased leisure and improved roads fostered the first popular enthusiasm for the beauties of the Cape's scenery, and tourist's guides began to appear such as Procter Brothers' "Pleasure Drives Around Cape Ann," 1896. The circuit of the Cape was about as much as you would expect of a good pair of horses in a day. A favorite drive was "around the Little Heater,"—via Essex, Magnolia and Western Avenues—or the more ambitious "Big Heater" through the Essex-Manchester road—routes so named because their lay-outs resembled an old-fashioned flat iron, or a horse-drawn snowplow, both of which were called heaters.

One of the commercial vehicles most familiar on Gloucester streets then was the jigger, a low-slung truck or dray with platform only a few inches off the ground, for easy loading of heavy barrels of fish or gurry. Much merchandise was sold door-to-door from wagons built to their special purposes: meat, fish, fruit and vegetables, ice, bread and pastry, soap and tallow,—and there were even chair and ladder trucks. The coming of motor vehicles changed both our scene and our economy. Such institutions as the iron drinking fountains for horses, Bott Brothers' harness shop, Rowe's stable, Eben Lufkin's blacksmith shop, the hay and grain stores gradually vanished. As these gave way to gasoline stations and garages, many hayfields returned to nature. It took a lot of land to support horses. Their passing accelerated the decline in agriculture and in the use of out-lying roads.

It is said that the first high-wheel bicycle appeared in Gloucester in 1878. This was strictly a man's vehicle and he had to be acrobatic to ride it. The big front wheel was 54" or more in diameter. Some fifteen years later the modern type known as the "safety" bicycle came in. As a good cyclist could travel about ten miles an hour a good deal of ground could be covered in a day, and tours with over-night stops became popular. Direction signs, then called "guide boards," multiplied on the highways. Books were published especially for the bicycle trade, such as

"In and Around Cape Ann" by John S. Webber, Jr. which came out in 1885 at the peak of the high-wheel era, and "Romance and Reality of the Puritan Coast" by Edmund H. Garrett in 1897, by which time ladies were riding the new safety bicycles and wearing ankle-length skirts, jackets with leg-o-mutton sleeves, bicycle stockings and fedoras or tamoshanters with one long feather. Hotels, restaurants, picnic groves and amusement parks did land-office business on summer Sundays and holidays, and advertised in guide books having the first sectional road maps,—such as "Standard Road Book" (1897).

Wheelmen's associations lobbied for better roads literally paving the way for Mr. Ford's revolution in transportation. In 1892, crushed stone began to be used in the construction of Gloucester highways, followed in order by road oil, tar binders and macadam.

New York still had some horse cars for several years after 1920 when electric cars vanished from Gloucester. So the trolley era is real history here. The line from the depot to Rocky Neck was electrified in 1890, and on August 29th of that year the first trolley car ran to Annisquam. Beginning in March 1896 you could go to Rockport on the "electrics" as they were then called, and a few years later, around the Cape. People along the route painted their houses and planted lawns and gardens and the community lost some of its former casual and rural aspect. On August 19, 1895, interurban service was initiated through Essex, Hamilton and Wenham to Beverly, along present highways 121 and 22. The first system used double wires and trolley poles, but this was soon replaced by the familiar single wire arrangement. Power houses supplied the "juice"; a tall-stacked one at Ellery Cove (sometimes called "Power House Cove"), is now gone, but one in Essex still stands having recently been used as a textile mill. The railways were single-tracked, with turnouts for passing. They looped the Cape, running along the sides of highways, and had spurs to Rocky Neck and Long Beach. The line to Beverly connecting with the rest of the country was an important link for in the early 1900's you could ride by trolley all the way from Portland to New York City (by changing at numerous transfer points). When off duty, rolling stock was housed

in a car barn on Bass Avenue. This was of wood and had previously been used for horse cars and their horses (here as elsewhere, accounting for these structures continuing to be called "barns"). It burned down on January 4, 1916 and was replaced by the present brick building which still serves the buses. In winter conventional closed trolley cars were used, but in summer there were open cars with reversible crosswise seats, hinged running boards and guard rails that could be lowered on the side not in use. Passengers usually boarded and left on the side toward the street. There were canvas curtains that could be drawn in case of rain,—if they worked. On the longer routes there were shelters to protect waiting passengers from sun and rain, with signs for the name of the locality, such as "Edgwood," "Agamenticus Heights" and "Fernwood" on Essex Avenue.

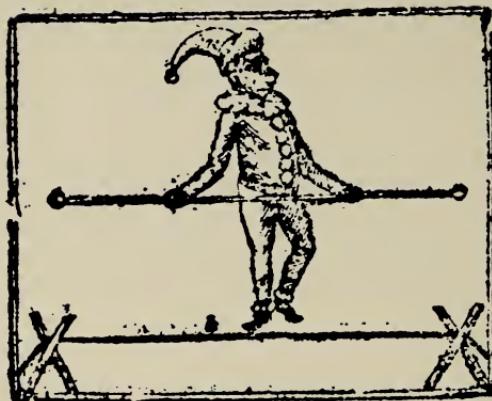
On the run up Pleasant Street to the depot a shuttle car was used. It had a one-man "crew" and was so small it was called the "peanut." This line was abandoned quite early and the tracks removed. Thereafter the route to the depot was via Main and Washington Streets. Two so-called Pullman cars, with their names "Belle" and "Magnolia" emblazoned on the sides in gold with scrolls, boasting lace curtains and chairs with cushions, were popular with social groups to charter for picnics and excursions. A starter dispatched the regular runs from in front of the waiting station on the north side of Main Street between Hancock and Center, calling out the destinations,—"car for depot, Riverdale, Annisquam, Bay View and Lanesville and 'round the Cape." The line to Long Beach opened in June 1895, and operated only in summer. The early type of open cars with single trucks, were used on it. They had a habit of galloping like a horse. Guard bars were let down on both sides before crossing the trestle that carried the tracks over the sandy marsh behind Little Good Harbor Beach. Even so, a careless passenger was occasionally tossed off into the dunes.

The same disease that killed the Boston & Gloucester Steamboat Company — high costs — finally put its lethal sting on the trolleys. The coming of automobiles and the inflation following World War I laid the patient low, and heavy snow removal costs in the winters of 1918-1920 administered the coup de grace. One-man cars were tried,

but to no avail. At 1:11 on the morning of June 20, 1920 the last car reached the barn after meeting the theatre train from Boston. After sun-up that day, thirteen passenger trolleys and two flat cars loaded with rails passed in a parade over the cut bridge and on to Beverly. The era of the "electrics" had lasted just thirty years and ended thirty-five years ago.

The railroad we still have with us after more than a century, or a third of the Cape's historical period. But today's big story for the Cape is that it has at last been joined to the continent by Route #128. The great hope is that it will help to bring in new industry to supplement the fisheries.

INNOCENT
A. MUSEMEN'S.



Mr. Cressin;
Natural Philosopher,

Having represented in the principal Cities of America, where he has been honored with the applause of connoisseurs, respectfully informs the Ladies and gentlemen of this town, that he proposes to commence his Exhibitions This Evening, at the Widow Hoyt's Tavern.

Mr Cressin informs the Public that if any persons wish to see his experiments, he will exhibit them at any hour most agreeable to private parties.

Admittance for grown people,
1/6 Children 1/9.

ADVERTISEMENT FROM THE IMPARTIAL HERALD

FOR MARCH 10, 1797

(Harvard)

THE NEWBURYPORT THEATRE IN THE 18th CENTURY

BY JAMES M. BARRISKILL

(Continued from Volume XCI, page 245)

The entire autumn and winter passed before another exhibition arrived. On March 10, 1797, "Mr. Cressin, Natural Philosopher" began his *Innocent Amusement* at Widow Hoyt's tavern on Boardman Street.¹⁰² Aside from the accompanying cut of a simian figure on a slack rope, there is nothing in the printed matter to indicate what Mr. Cressin's exhibition contained.

INNOCENT AMUSEMENT.

Mr. Cressin,
Natural Philosopher,

Having represented in the principal Cities of America, where he has been honored with the applause of connoisseurs [sic], respectfully informs the Ladies and gentlemen of this town, that he proposes to commence his Exhibitions This Evening, at the Widow Hoyts' [sic] Tavern.

Mr. Cressin informs the Public that if any persons wish to see his experiments, he will exhibit them at any hour most agreeable to private parties.

Admittance for grown people, 1/6 Children /9.

In Salem, Massachusetts, the last of January 1797, Mr. Cressin, describing his exhibition as "Comic and Experimental", listed sleight of hand tricks for the first three parts of his program, while part four displayed his famous trained monkeys, Gibonne and Coco.¹⁰³ Mr. Cressin promised to:

Exhibit the two most surprising Animals that ever existed in the world, not so much for their form, as for their docility and excellent talents. These two Animals are not more than three feet and an half high, they are young and walk erect, their bodies, arms, and legs, are the same as a real

102 I. H., 3:10, 14, 1797.

103 Salem *Gazette*, 1:20, 1797.

person, and are habited in the same manner, they only want the Faculty of Speech, but answer their master by Signs to all he asks them— Gibonne serves her master at the Table, fetches all he wants, takes off his Shoes and Stockings, plays at cards with her master, she can read, she has a Printing-Press made in the proper form, in which she will print any person's name who desires it. —COCO will dance on the tight Rope, with a balance pole in his hand, 10 Feet long, weighing ten pounds. It is impossible to detail the surprising talents of these Animals, as it would appear to most persons incredible.

Though Mr. Cressin continued his experiments in his exhibitions, the popularity of the monkeys became so great that they received feature billing:¹⁰⁴

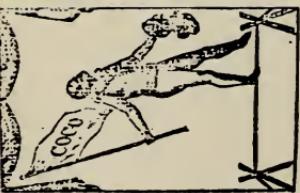
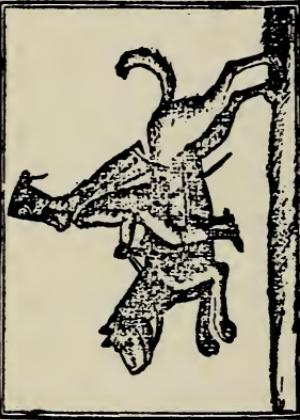
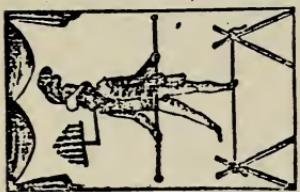
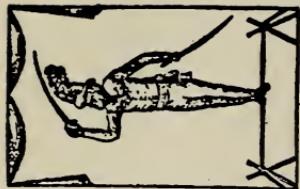
Coco will ride a large Dog, saddled and bridled, with the address of a real person, at the same time going through the exercise of the broad sword. The most grave persons that come to see his performances, will not be able to refrain from laughing from the beginning to the end: Many men of shining abilities have appeared, but never any animals of such surprising talents and docility.

The January 27th issue of the *Gazette*, repeating the advertising of the 24th, warned once more, "For the Last Time. This Evening." Not only did Mr. Cressin enjoy success in the box office, but public acclaim in an editorial "Communication" on the 27th:

A Theatre we have not like our neighbors [Boston?], but we have fine and rare shows . . . Cressino, un fisico, is with us. The actors are brave monkeys, that ride dogs and cats wonderfully. Their action is bold, silent, and naked, without offence to either sex, and without damage to the virtues. The bursts of applause are constant. . . .

This was the nature of Mr. Cressin's *Innocent Amusement* at the Widow Hoyt's beginning March 10th.

There is a handbill "*Innocent Amusement*, Mr. Cressin," (owned by the New York Public Library) which Evans (*Bibliography* #30299) has dated Newburyport, 1796. Again Evans has not given his sources for the date. Ford



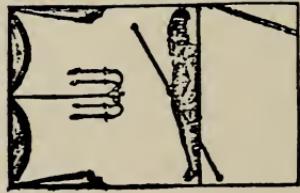
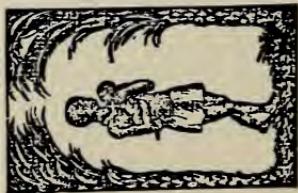
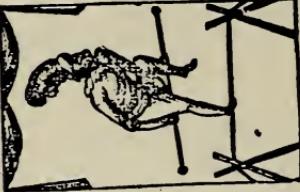
INNOCENT AMUSEMENT.

M^r. CRESSIN.

HAVING just the good fortune to receive the approbation of a great number of respectable characters in this town, who have engaged him, that if he had a more convenient place for his exhibition, they would wish him with their families—and as it would be the first town where Mr. Cressin has ever been honored with the presence of the LADIES, he has thought it proper to have the Society of Mr. J. G. Davis, now the faro-boy, where he will perform this evening. (If for another.)

Those persons who will honor him with their presence, may be assured that nothing will be spared to merit their approbation, and render the evening entertaining. Performances to begin at seven and end at ten o'clock.

Price of admittance for Grown people, 50c, for Children 25c.
← Mr. Cressin informs, that he will also perform for private parties at any time.



in his *Broadsides Printed in Massachusetts*,¹⁰⁵ lists the handbill under the 1790 items, again without sources. Was he suspicious of the date and listed it under an inclusive 1790 date? I suspect that the broadside is 1797 and not 1796. This handsome handbill is generously illustrated with five woodcuts, following the publicity which I have quoted from the Salem *Gazette*.

In the center, directly over the printed matter — an explanation why Mr. Cressin had changed his place of exhibition — is a large cut of a monkey riding a dog. At the left are four smaller cuts, three of which are Coco (for in one cut the figure carries a penant with the name COCO) in varied poses balancing on the tight rope. To the right three more of Coco balancing. In the lower righthand corner Gibonne is removing her master's shoes and stockings. The reading of the handbill follows:

INNOCENT AMUSEMENT.

Mr. CRESSIN,

Having had the good fortune to receive the approbation of a great number of respectable characters in this town, who have assured him, that if he had a more convenient place for his exhibitions, they would visit him with their families — and as it would be the first town where Mr. Cressin has not been honored with the presence of the LADIES, he has thought it proper to hire the Store of Mr. Joseph Davis, near the ferry-way, where he will perform this evening, (if fair weather.)

Those persons who will honor him with their presence —, may be assured that nothing will be spared to merit their approbation, and render the evening entertaining.

Performance to begin at seven and end at ten o'clock.

Price of admittance for Grown people 1/6, for Children 9d.

Mr. Cressin informs, that he will also perform for private parties at any time.

Possibly the date of this handbill is in error by one year, and should be 1797 rather than 1796. Mr. Cressin was not in Newburyport in 1796, nor, as far as the writer has seen did he play Boston, Salem or Portsmouth. He was in Salem in January, 1797, as we have seen, and in New-

buryport in March. In Salem, all the advertising was headed with "Exhibitions. Comic and Experimental." while in Newburyport, since he had undoubtedly heard from the profession that Newburyport was one place that still looked with disfavor upon all phases of the theatre, Mr. Cressin had quieted and simplified his publicity. Both the advertising in Newburyport and the handbill have the same lead line, *Innocent Amusement*. The editorial in the Salem *Gazette* gave the performance a fine salvo of morality.

Mr. Cressin's *Innocent Amusement* had been a success, it had been approved by the gentlemen who "assured him if he had a more convenient place for his exhibition, they would visit him with their families" Mr. Cressin was also distressed since Newburyport was "the first town where [he had] not been honored with the presence of the Ladies, . . ." Thus the move from the tavern of Widow Hoyt's, (her husband, Joseph, had died a year or two previous) was a good one. The Widow Hoyt's tavern was respectable enough, but the proximity to the wharves and their attendant diversions, the distance from the center of town made the location inconvenient. The exhibition was at night; and in 1797, only the stalwart and the young blades ventured far afield after dark. Too, ladies did not go to taverns. Mr. Cressin, a shrewd showman, moved to the center of town.

He printed his bills, hung them in public places for the public to know that he had hired the "Store" of Joseph Davis, near the ferry-way, at the foot of State Street in the Market. At this time there were several Joseph Davises in Newburyport, none of whom, alas, owned a store near the ferry-way. There was the jewelry store of Samuel Davis on Water Street.¹⁰⁶ Ambrose Davis owned a large, well-established sail-loft on the ferry-way. But neither Samuel nor Ambrose had a Joseph in his family. In 1811, there was on Water Street a Joseph Davis whose house, unlocated, was destroyed in the Great Fire.

In the move to a more convenient location where ladies might attend, Mr. Cressin would normally have rented Union Hall, but not this year. Since November, 1796,¹⁰⁷

106 I. H., 11:18, 1796; 3:10, 1797.

107 *Ibid.*, 11:8, 1796.

To the Curious and Benevolent.

A DWARF CHILD.

Mr. Brown respectfully informs the Ladies and Gentlemen of Newburyport, that the DWARF CHILD will be exhibited on

THIS DAY, *August 3*, from 9 o'clock, A. M. till 1,
and from 2 till 5, P. M. at *Union-Hall*.

Posteriorly for the last time.

This Child has hitherto been exhibited at Mr. Brown's Assembly-hall, Boston, where he was allowed to be the greatest natural Curiosity ever seen. He has there assumed the Name of

TOM THUMB, Jun.

Is he not the smallest Boy of his age ever known?

He is six years old, 26 inches high, and weighs only 12 pounds. He is very handsome, and well proportioned, also very active and mirthful.

This interesting little Genius was born in Bridgewater, where his parents now live, poverty having, in low circumstances, with to make a collection for the maintenance and education of their child.

*Admittance 1*l*. 6*d*. Half price for Children.*

DWARF CHILD - HANDBILL - NEWBURYPORT

Owned by New York Public Library

Mr. Renard, a dancing teacher from Boston, had a large dancing school there, meeting on Monday and Wednesday evenings. His second quarter had just opened on February 28th;¹⁰⁸ and on March 9th,¹⁰⁹ he had opened an additional school, Thursday and Saturday afternoons for young people. Union Hall was full. The proprietors of the Hall would not have tampered with Renard's tenancy for a strolling exhibitor of monkeys!

What further success Mr. Cressin had in Newburyport, is past memory. No more of his advertising was found after November 14th.

The year 1797-98 was a fine one for entertainment in Newburyport with a long, varied listing of well-known exhibitors: the Dwarf Child, Gonoty, The Elephant, a Bison, the return Engagement of Mr. Maginnis, a Museum of Painted Glass and Mr. Pinchbeck with his Learned Pig. The first to arrive was the *Dwarf Child* who was to be seen "for the last time" on August 3rd at Union Hall. "Those who have the curiosity to see this little genius, may gratify themselves by calling there," so Mr. Bryant, the child's manager, told the public in the *Political Gazette* on the 3rd. One and six, half price for children, admitted the curious to the exhibition.

There is at the New York Public Library a handbill of this August 3rd "Positively for the last time" exhibition of the *Dwarf Child* in Newburyport. Addressed "To the Curious and Benevolent", we learn that the child had been recently shown in Boston at Bowen's Assembly Hall;¹¹⁰ that in Boston he had "assumed the Name of *Tom Thumb, Jun.* As he is the smallest Boy of his age ever known." (However, he was called the *Dwarf Child* when Bryant advertised his last performance on July 19th, 1797.¹¹¹ Dr. Bentley who saw him in Salem on July 26th (Diary), called him "Calvin".) A succinct biography was included on the handbill, "He is six years old, 26 inches high, and weighs

108 *Ibid.*, 2:24; 3:7, 1797.

109 *P. G.*, 3:10, 1797.

110 The Assembly Hall was under the Columbian Museum on the corner of what is now Bromfield and Tremont Streets. Bowen showed all manner of exhibits: from dramas to live animals, wax-works to concerts.

111 *C. C.*, 7:15.

only 12 pounds. He is very handsome, and well proportioned, also very active and manly." So much in appealing to the "Curious". The "Benevolent" in the salutation of the handbill were finally approached with, "This surprising little Genius was born in Bridgewater, where his parents now live; they being in low circumstances, wish to make a collection for the maintenance and education of their child." You could see this early Tom Thumb, Jr., from 9 until 1 and from 2 until 5.

When Mr. Bryant returned to Boston in February, 1798,¹¹² the *Dwarf Child* had become the "Famous American Dwarf", though he was still the "Little Genius."

Another balance master, Gonoty, Seignor Jonotty as it was spelled in Newburyport, performed at Union Hall from August 11, through August 18th.¹¹³ He too was "the real *Balance Master, From Italy*," whose "equal has never been seen in America." Having "performed in the most capital cities in Europe," he presented his "curious and surprising Feats, at UNION-HALL," beginning on August 11, 1797.¹¹⁴ Doors opened at 6:30, the performance starting at seven-thirty. A quarter of a dollar admitted man, woman or child to the exhibit. Balancing was his forte, and balance he did with "plates, swords, pipes, keys, nails, tables, chairs, glasses, Peacock's feathers, straws, and several other things tedious to mention:", all of which reminds one of Mr. Herenton's advertising. Next Gonoty introduced for the first time in Newburyport, though he had previously performed with this early magic lantern in New York City, in January, 1797¹¹⁵, the "Curious Machinery, Imitating Fire Works." This wonderful color machine "Without any fire, powder or smoke, or any smell to disturb the company, — will appear more brilliant than the real Fire Works, with a view of the rising Sun, Solomon's Temple, stars, fountains, &c. with a number of curious prospects." These imitation fireworks were new to Newburyport. Of Italian origin, this cleverly contrived magic lantern was called the "giuoco di luce" or play of light. By simple devices of slides

112 *Ibid.*, 2:28.

113 Advs. in P. G., 8:10, repeated on the 17th, 1797, both promising performances "to-morrow Evening."

114 P. G., 8:10, 1797.

115 Odell: I, p. 439.

AN ASTRONOMICAL DIARY; OR
ALMANACK

For the Year of our LORD CHRIST 1772: Being Bissextile or Leap-Year.

Calculated for the Meridian of BOSTON, New-England, Lat. 42 25 North.

CONTAINING,

Besides what is usual in Almanacks, a Description of the Dwarf that lately made her Appearance in this Town; as also a curious Method of taking Wax and Honey without destroying Bees.

By NATHANIEL AMES.



Price 2s. 8d. per Dozen, and Six Coppers single.

To the Curious in General.

Seignor JONOTTY,

The real BALANCE MASTER,

From ITALY,

BEGS leave to acquaint the
Ladies and Gentlemen, that he
has just arrived in this town, and will
exhibit his new, curious and surprising
Feats, at UNION-HALL, to-morrow
Evening—at

BALANCING

His equal has never been seen in America, he has performed in the most capital cities in Europe—He Balances plates, swords, pipes, keys, nails, tables, chairs, glasses, Peacock's feathers, straws, and several other things tedious to mention:

Also, a Curious Machinery,

Imitating Fire Works,

Without any fire, powder
or smoke, or any smell to disturb the
company, and will appear more brilliant
than the real Fire Works, with a
view of the rising Sun, Solomon's
Temple, stars, fountains, &c. with a
number of curious prospects.

THE

CHINESE SHADES,

Representing above 350
different Figures as natural as Life.

Likewise the Humours of

MR. PUNCH And his Merry Family.

*Tickets of admittance a
Quarter of a Dollar, to be had at the
place of performance.*

*Doors open at half past 6 o'clock, the
performance begins at half past 7.*

ADVERTISEMENT FROM THE POLITICAL GAZETTE

AUGUST 10, 1797

(Harvard)

and revolving discs, marvelous pictures, swirls of color, flashes and streams of sparks could be projected on a screen to simulate fireworks and moving masses of colors. These controlled displays were easier and safer to manipulate in puppet and shadow shows than real powder and fireworks. The "curious prospects" were projected views of cities and landscapes.¹¹⁶

Then followed "The *Chinese Shades*, Representing above 350 different Figures as natural as Life." which Mr. Maginnis had shown two years previously. To end the evening on a happy plane, Gonoty presented the "Humours of Mr. Punch And his Merry Family." An evening with Gonoty was an evening of varied entertainment.

Probably no single animal act ever created as much excitement in the 18th Century as did the Elephant which had its initial showing in New York City in April, 1796.¹¹⁷ Following an exhibit in Boston during July and August, 1797,¹¹⁸ the Elephant, by way of Salem, Marblehead and Beverly,¹¹⁹ lumbered into Newburyport around September 19th, 1797. A handbill of this last date (owned by the Newburyport Public Library), illustrated by the familiar woodcut and a lengthy description heralded the elephant's arrival in Newburyport. This handbill was printed also in the *Political Gazette* for the 21st. The mighty animal could be seen "in A respectable and convenient place . . . fitted up [and] adjoining the Store of Mr. Bartlet, Market-Street, . . . from sunrise till sundown, every day in the week." Entrance was "one quarter of a dollar — Children one eighth of a dollar."

The Newburyport handbill, similar to the one for Providence,¹²⁰ describes the size, intelligence, alcoholic consumption and the paper-eating phobia of the beast; but there is one difference in the publicity. For towns not of metropolitan rank, the owner heightened one detail. In Providence, the Elephant was "from Philadelphia, on his Way to Boston", while here, "This most curious and surprising animal is just arrived in this town, from Bengal, E. Indies."

116 See McPharlin: *Puppet Theatre in America*, p. 52.

117 Odell, I:441.

118 C. C., 7:8 to 8:25, 1797 *passim*.

119 Salem *Gazette*, 9:5, 8, 12, 1797.

120 See Vail: *Random Notes*, p. 14.

The stupendous pachyderm remained "but four days, . . . [He will positively leave town on Saturday next.]", that is, the 23rd.

The *Impartial Herald* on the 23rd carried a small advertisement of the elephant, "This Animal which so far exceeds all description, as to surprize every visitor with admiration," was to be seen "This Day, in Market Street, in a Store, adjoining Mr. Richard Bartlet's brick store." It was Edmund Bartlet, not Richard's store. The latter had sold the property to William Bartlet in February 1797, who, in turn, had set his son, Edmund, in the business,¹²¹ a hardware-grocery store, three stories brick, on the southeasterly corner of Market and Merrimack Streets.¹²²

Among the curious in town to see the elephant was young Moses Kimball, later a substantial merchant, but who was now working in Major David Coffin's general store near the wharves. In his *Journal*, (In possession of the Newburyport Public Library) Moses Kimball wrote on September 21st, "Went to see an Elephant[.]", noting on the inside back cover, under "A Sketch of articles Rec'd from Mr. Coffin (as presents) . . . Sept 21 By Cash to see an Elephant 1/6[.]"

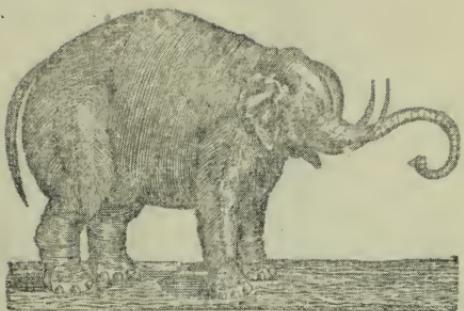
Faithful to the advertising, the Elephant left town for exhibits unknown. No more is heard of the wonder until October 20th (P. G.) when she, and not he, as Rev. William Bentley has pointedly noted in his diary, after seeing the exhibit in Salem on August 30th, returned and "was positively to be seen at Derry Fair (Londonderry, New Hampshire) on Tuesday the 24th Oct. where he will stay two or three days." No further tours of New England as the Elephant returned to Boston where, on the 28th of October, she was seen behind the Fire Insurance office on State Street.¹²³

Thomas Hutchinson Balch, a jeweler in Market Square, wrote in his Almanac Diary on March 5, 1792, "See a Buffalo." Since there was no advertising in the local papers, it may be imagined that Thomas Balch saw the buffalo in Salem, which Dr. Bentley has recorded having

121 Currier: *History of Newburyport*, I, p. 180-181.

122 Currier, *Ibid.*

123 C. C., 10:28, 1797.



THE ELEPHANT,

ACCORDING to the account of the celebrated BUFFON, is the most respectable Animal in the world. In size he surpasses all other terrestrial creatures; and by his intelligence, makes as near an approach to man, as matter can approach spirit. A sufficient proof that there is not too much said of the knowledge of this animal is, that the Proprietor having been absent for ten weeks, the moment he arrived at the door of his apartment, and spoke to the keeper, the animal's knowledge was beyond any doubt confirmed by the cries he uttered forth, till his Friend came within reach of his trunk, with which he caressed him, to the astonishment of all those who saw him. This most curious and surprising animal is just arrived in this town, from Bengal, E. Indies, where he will stay but four days. ——He is only four years old, and weighs about 3000 weight, but will not have come to his full growth till he shall be between 30 and 40 years old. He measures from the end of his trunk to the tip of his tail 15 feet 8 inches, round the body 10 feet 6 inches, round his head 7 feet 1 inch, round his leg above the knee 3 feet 5 inches, round his ankle 8 feet 2 inches. He eats 150 weight a day, and drinks all kinds of spirituous liquors; some days he has drank 30 bottles of port, drawing the corks with his trunk. He is so tame that he travels loose, and has never attempted to hurt any one. He appeared on the stage, at the New Theatre in Philadelphia, to the great satisfaction of a respectable audience.

A respectable and convenient place is fitted up adjoining the Store of Mr. Berney, Market-Street, for the reception of those ladies and gentlemen who may be pleased to view the greatest natural curiosity ever presented to the curious, which is to be seen from sunrise till sundown, every day in the week.

NOTE.—The Elephant having destroyed many papers of consequence, it is recommended to visitors not to come near him with such papers.

Admittance ONE QUARTER OF A DOLLAR.—Children ONE EIGHTH OF A DOLLAR.
NEWBURYPORT, Sept. 19, 1797.

ELEPHANT - HANDBILL - NEWBURYPORT

Innocent Amusements.
At UNION-HALL.

THIS is to acquaint the curious,
That on FRIDAY Evening, 2d Inst.
will be presented, by a wonderful list of Artificial
Comedians, the comic piece of

The Launch,

Huzza for the Constitution,
As performed in Boston eleven nights, in
crowded houses, and with universal ap-
plause.

Capt. Constant,	Mr. Cedar
Old Lexington,	Mr. Maple
Old Bunker,	Mr. Pine's
Nathan,	Mr. Sugar Maple
Jack Hawley,	Mr. Beach
Tom Bowling,	Mr. Birch
And, Nel Grog,	Mr. Live Oak,
Mrs. Lexington,	Mrs. Maple
Mary,	Miss Maple
And, Tabitha,	Miss Sugar Maple.

To conclude with a striking representation
of the late launching the new

Frigate Constitution.

Boats passing and repassing on the water.
View up the River Charleston, and the
neighbouring country, taken correctly
from Jeffry and Russell's wharf.

The Secrecy principally executed by Mr. Graham
Pt II.—By a curious Prussian Pantomima
will be performed the following Figures,
The Merry Hunters of Old Jonathan and his
Wife.

A Figure in the character of a Country Girl
will dance a Jig, as natural as life.—A
Hornpipe by a small figure in the char-
acter of an American Tar.—The amus-
ing Lapland Lady will dance a Jig, and
change her face three times impercep-
tibly.—Like wise a brilliant collection of
FIGURES, being the richest of the kind
ever exhibited.—The much admired
Italian Scaramouch will dance a Fandan-
go, and put his body into twenty differ-
ent shapes, being one of the greatest cur-
iosities ever presented to an American
audience.

Admittance—3/-—Doors to be opened at
6 and to begin at 7 o'clock — Tickets
may be had at the place of performance.

Mr. Magonis thinks proper to inform
those ladies and gentlemen who may wish
to honor his performance with their pre-
sence, that nothing immoral, or immoral,
will be introduced in the course of the even-
ing.

Newburyport, March 2.

ADVERTISEMENT FROM THE NEWBURYPORT HERALD
FOR MARCH 2, 1798

(Newburyport Public Library)

seen there on February 22, 1792. Also lacking is evidence of a bison visiting here in 1795, though Dr. Bentley recorded one in Salem on April 1. Patience sometimes has it reward.

On November 10, 1797, the Newburyport *Herald* announced to the "admirers of Natural Curiosities" that there had "just arrived" at "Mr. Horton's store, near the sign of the Deer, Merrimack Street, a *Bison Imported from Arabia*," Nine pence, an unusually low price, was the admission, children at half price. The bison, "allowed to be one of the most surprising Animals ever exhibited in America," was described thus: "Her head is covered with long frizzled hair, with a pair of horns, and a long beard. She measures five feet high, and girts nine." A fearful sight! James Horton's grocery store on Market Street was opposite the Upper Long Wharf,¹²⁴ probably on the southwest corner of Market and Merrimack Streets. As for the "sign of the Deer", this is the only reference the writer has seen of the name. Probably it was a tavern or a leather store, named in dubious honor of the notable Timothy Dexter who once had a thriving leather business, the Sign of the Glove, where he sold "Good Deer, Sheep and Moose Skins"¹²⁵ two streets to the southeast on Merrimack Street. Perhaps it was in even more paradoxical honor to Lord Timothy as the town officer, Informer of the Deer, an elected civic honor that he was never called upon to execute.

After the 17th of November, the bison disappeared from the local advertising. The Arabian bison was on its way south; Dr. Bentley mentioned it on November 29th, 1797, "A *Bison in Town*."

During the autumn and winter of 1797-98, there were no exhibitions of a theatrical nature; but the time was well filled with a feverish activity in amateur music under the direction of Samuel Holyoke.

Very early in the spring the travelling exhibitors set out once again on their migrations. Mr. Maginnis appeared to pay a long, over-due return engagement with his "Innocent Amusements." At Union-Hall on Friday evening, March 2, 1798 (adv. Newburyport *Herald* s.d.) "A won-

124 *Newburyport Herald*, 1:3; 2:7, 1800.

125 *E. J.*, 4:5, 1776.

derful set of Artificial Comedians, [presented] the comic piece of *The Launch, or Huzza for the Constitution.*" with the following cast:

Capt. Constant,	Mr. Cedar
Old Lexington,	Mr. Maple
Old Bunker,	Mr. Pine
Nathan,	Mr. Sugar Maple
Jack Hawlyard,	Mr. Beach
Tom Bowling,	Mr. Birch
And, Ned Grog,	Mr. Live Oak
Mrs. Lexington,	Mrs. Maple
Mary,	Miss Maple
And, Tabitha,	Miss Sugar Maple.

The "Launch" concluded with "a striking representation of the late launching of the new Frigate *Constitution.*" Special notice was given to the scenery, "Boats passing and repassing on the water. View up the river Charleston [sic], and the neighboring country taken correctly from Jeffrey and Russell's wharf." — which was "principally executed by Mr. Graham." Could this have been George Graham, the early American engraver? If this were the same George Graham, the scenery should have been interesting. Odell¹²⁶ was interested in the scenery for the *Launch* when Mr. Maginnis gave this same show in New York City on June 11, 1799.

Part two of the program offered by the:

curious Prussian Fantacina [sic] . . . The Merry Humors of Old Jonathan and his Wife. A Figure in the character of a Country Girl will dance a Jig, as natural as life—A Hornpipe by a small figure in the character of an American Tar—The astonishing Lapland Lady will dance a Jig, and change her face three times imperceptably—Likewise a brilliant collection of FIGURES, being the richest of the kind ever exhibited.—The much admired Italian Scaramouch will dance a Fandango, and put his body into twenty different shapes, being one of the greatest curiosities ever presented to an American audience.

Tickets were high at three shillings; the doors opened

FOR A FEW DAYS ONLY.

Mr. PINCHBECK,

R espectfully informs the inhabitants of Newburyport, That he has just arrived in this town, with that great natural Curiosity,

The Pig of Knowledge,

and flatters himself, after exhibiting before the President of the United States with unbounded applause, and in every principal city in the Union, to have the honor of gratifying such Ladies and Gentlemen in this place, as may favour him with their company.

This extraordinary animal will actually perform the following surprising particulars, viz.

He reads print or writing, spells, tells the time of day, both the hours and minutes, by any persons watch in the company, the date of the year, the day of the month, distinguishes colours, how many persons there are present, ladies or gentlemen, and to the astonishment of every spectator, will answer any question in the four first rules of Arithmetic. To conclude, any lady or gentleman may draw a card from a pack, and keep it concealed, and the PIG without hesitation, will discover the card when drawn.

Those who doubt the truth of the above, are informed in case it don't answer every expectation the bill can excite, and prove a real living animal, shall have the money returned, or be at liberty to pay after they have convinced themselves by seeing him perform.

Admittance, One Quarter of a Dollar—
To be seen at Union Hall, where tickets may
be had. ~~at~~ Doors open at 8, and begin pre-
cisely at 9.

N. B. Mr. Pinchbeck, in order to accommo-
date those Ladies and Gentlemen who can't
make it convenient to attend in the evening, will,
in a party of 12 persons, exhibit any hour in
the day, by their giving previous notice.

ADVERTISEMENT FROM THE NEWBURYPORT HERALD

FOR MAY 25, 1798

(Newburyport Public Library)

at 6 for a 7 o'clock performance. The cautious, perhaps proper, Mr. Maginnis in his publicity promised "those ladies and gentlemen who may wish to honor his performance with their presence, that nothing immodest, or immoral, will be introduced in the course of the evening." Mr. Maginnis played but one evening in Newburyport. As he had performed the *Launch* "in Boston eleven nights, to crowded houses, and with universal applause", I like to think Mr. Maginnis a busy producer with a heavy schedule, rather than that the citizens of Newburyport closed their curiosity to his "Innocent Amusements."

The first exhibition of its type to come to Newburyport was an "Entertaining Museum A Most beautiful and elegant Exhibition of Pictures, Paintings in Glass, Representations, Newest Fashions, & &. Together with A display of Maps of every part of the World . . . advantageously displayed in UNION HALL . . .", beginning on April 6th, 1798.¹²⁷ The exhibit had "just arrived from Europe" and was "worthy the attention of the most accomplished Ladies and Gentlemen . . . at 9d. each, and children at four pence half penny." The show was open from 4 in the afternoon until 9. This new type of exhibition seemed to have attracted many, as the advertising continued in the *Herald* through the 17th of April.

The season of 1797-98 was brought to a spectacular close when Mr. Pinchbeck, at the end of May 1798,¹²⁸ arrived in town "with that great natural Curiosity, The Pig of Knowledge." Having played "before the President of the United States with unbounded applause," and "in every principal city in the Union," Mr. Pinchbeck said that he was honored to have the opportunity to play before the ladies and gentlemen of Newburyport in Union Hall.

The Pig of Knowledge, an extraordinary animal, often exhibited as the Learned Pig, performed as follows:

He reads print or writing, spells, tells the time of day, both the hours and minutes, by any persons watch in the company, the date of the year, the day of the month, distinguishes colours, how many persons there are present,

127 *Newburyport Herald*, 4:6, 1798.

128 *Newburyport Herald*, 5:25, 1798.

ladies or gentlemen, and to the astonishment of every spectator, will answer any question in the first four rules of Arithmetic. To conclude, any lady or gentleman may draw a card from a pack, and keep it concealed, and the PIG without hesitation, will discover the card when drawn.

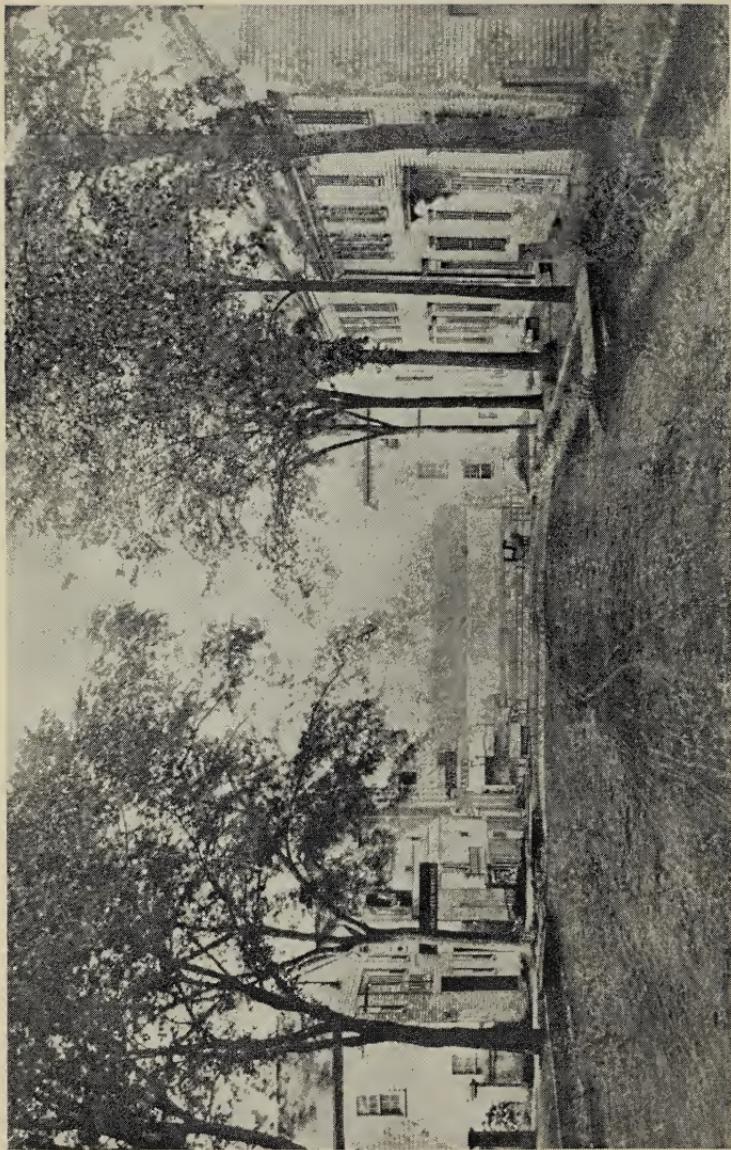
Mr. Pinchbeck guaranteed that the Pig was not an automaton, an obstacle which he had encountered in Boston in February 1798. There, he advertised "Curiosity without Deception."¹²⁹ In Newburyport he said, "Those who doubt the truth of the above [that is, the listing of the tricks that the Pig could do], are informed in case it don't answer every expectation the bill can excite, and prove a real living animal, shall have the money returned, or be at liberty to pay after they have convinced themselves by seeing him perform." Tickets were on sale at Union Hall, "one Quarter of a Dollar . . . Doors open at 8, and [to] begin precisely at 9." An unusually late hour for a performance in this century. Mr. Pinchbeck, always ready to accommodate, offered to parties of twelve or more who couldn't attend the evening performance, an exhibition "any hour in the day, by their giving previous notice."

A letter "From a Correspondent" in the editorial column of the Newburyport *Herald* on May 25th shows that the performances of the Pig of Knowledge had opened two days earlier, on the 23rd.

From a Correspondent—

We are happy to learn that the Pig of Knowledge, which has been so long a subject of admiration and wonder, is actually arriving at Union Hall, and has been shown two successive evenings to a crowded and respectable audience. As this exhibition tends to instruct the youth, raise ambition in the tender mind and heart — where the philosopher may speculate — the serious admire, and the gay be elevated — We shall indeed be still more happy to find the Proprietor meets with that encouragement due him on this occasion, more especially as this phenomenon proves to demonstration that what is too often thought impossible wants only the dint of perseverance and assiduity to surmount every difficulty.

129 C. C., 2:10, 21, 22, 1798.



A PICTURE OF GREEN STREET, NEWBURYPORT, MASSACHUSETTS, LOOKING TOWARD THE RIVER

The building on the extreme right was Union Hall before it became a dwelling in the mid 1800's

This is Mr. Pinchbeck's own publicity, similar to the advertising and news items which he used in Boston from January to April 1798.¹³⁰ The closing lines of an observation by a "Correspondent" in the *Columbian Centinel* for February 24th and the letter in the *Newburyport Herald* for May 25th are too parallel for coincidence. The writer in the *Centinel* observed that the Learned Pig was:

the topic of conversation, in every polite circle. — In fact, not to have seen this extraordinary animal is to become unfashionable; tho' we are not in the habit of passing eulogiums on exhibition in general, yet we must allow, that great merit is due to the teacher of this stubborn animal; as it proves to demonstration, how far assiduity and perseverance will surmount every difficulty.¹³¹

Mr. Pinchbeck exhibited in Union Hall on Green Street, Newburyport, through June 1st. as he explained in a "Card" in the *Herald* of that date.

Mr. Pinchbeck respectfully informs the Ladies and Gentlemen of Newburyport, that this evening, (Friday, June 1st.) will positively be the last Exhibition in this town; he therefore hopes to be honored with the company of all those persons who have not yet had the opportunity of viewing this great phenomenon in nature — the friends and promoters of invention, the lovers of novelty and philosophy, such as are not too wise to be amused.

A repetition of the May 25th advertisement followed.

Since the playing time for the Newburyport run was not as long as it had been in Boston, the advertising was not as frequent nor fulsome as it had been there. The one

130 C. C., 1:13; 4:11, *passim*.

131 While showing the Pig of Knowledge in Boston in January 1798 (C. C., 1:17), Mr. Pinchbeck said the pig was originally from England and that he had paid \$1000 for it in Philadelphia. Some years later, in 1805, William Frederick Pinchbeck wrote a pamphlet, published in Boston. "The Expositor, or Many Mysteries Unveiled . . . comprising the Learned Pig" (There is a copy of this pamphlet in the Harvard Theatre Collection). In a series of letters to an unnamed correspondent, Mr. Pinchbeck explained the steps by which one could train a live pig to do tricks. There is no mention that the pig he had used was from England. Any live pig would do, so long as the trainer had sufficient patience.

large publicity letter had created the desired effect — the exhibition was not to be missed. The results are obvious, for the engagement was long.

The season of 1798-99 was, in spite of its incongruity, a memorable one. The Moose and the Waxworks were enjoyable, while the concerts of the Von Hagens' and the Graupners' were outstanding musical evenings as they would have been in any town or city of America. As musicians they were the best that contemporary musical life had to offer.

The "Male Moose" made a bid for a showing on August 3, 1798, (N. H. s. d.) at David Laurence's stable at the rear of the tavern, the Sign of General Wolfe, on the corner of Threadneedle Alley and a "way" that is now known as Inn Street.

THAT REMARKABLE ANIMAL called the MOOSE, may be seen in this town every hour of the day, and until ten o'clock in the evening This Animal is said to be the largest, and to discover the greatest variety in his looks of any that America produces. He is now a year and two months old, and is very near fifteen hands high on his foreshoulders—He divides the hoof, and chews the cud, in which two points he resembles the OX very much. Price of admittance 9d. Half price for Children. N. B. This Animal it's probable will not tarry in Town more than four or five days. (N. H., s. d.)

Let us now look at a series of concerts whose soloists were the most famous performers among the innumerable musicians in the United States before 1800.

Mr. J. H. Smith, with justifiable pride, announced a *Concert* of instrumental and vocal music for October 1, 1798.¹³²

CONCERT.

The lovers of Music, we are informed, will soon have an opportunity of gratifying themselves with a most delicious feast. Mr. J. H. Smith, one of the first performers on the Pianno Forte, the celebrated Messrs. Von Hagens of Boston and several other excellent musicians propose a Concert of instrumental and vocal music, on the evening of the 1st. of Oct. next. The characters of the performers will

132 Newburyport *Herald*, 9:18, 1798.

be a sufficient inducement to all who have an ear for music to patronize the undertaking. — "Adams and Liberty," and "Hail Columbia, Hail" will doubtless be among the favorite Songs — and we anticipate a full house[.]

Mr. J. H. Smith, whose biography is scant, had been in Newburyport, as we learn from his advertising,¹³³ the summer months just preceding teaching.

PIANO FORTE

J. H. Smith Organist and Professor of Music Respectfully informs the Ladies and Gentlemen of Newburyport and its vicinity, that he teaches Piano Forte, and other Kyed [sic] Instruments, the refined Art of fingering, Tenor and Bass.

Mr. Smith has taught in the first families and young Ladies boarding Schools in the United States and Europe.

He tunes Instruments on reasonable terms.

Inquire at this office [newspaper]. July 31.

The requests for his teaching and tuning were not too demanding, for, within a month, he was advertising this concert. The wonder is, how did he manage to secure the Von Hagens for the concert? The latter were well-known, established musicians with a fine reputation in Boston. It is just possible that J. H. Smith was the pianist Smith who appeared with the Von Hagens at a concert in New York City on June 6, 1793, at the City Tavern.¹³⁴ If the two Smiths were the same, the three, then, were well acquainted. It would have been an easy matter for Smith to have asked the Von Hagens, father and son to come down from Boston for the concert. The early show people and musicians were always willing and eager to turn up an extra evening's work. Perhaps the Von Hagens, who taught and gave concerts in the towns surrounding Boston, had sent out Smith to reconnoitre more fields for concert work. Whatever the connection was between them all, the Von Hagens did come down to Newburyport, and proceeded to get the main billing in the subsequent advertising. After this concert of October 1st, Mr. Smith disappeared from

¹³³ *Ibid.*, 7:31; 8:3-17, 1798.

¹³⁴ Odell, I, 335.

Newburyport only to appear later the same autumn in Portsmouth where his advertising became larger and more detailed (see *Oracle of the Day*, Portsmouth for November 9, 1798; see also Brooks, *Olden-Time Music*).

The news item in the Newburyport *Herald* for September 18th conveys the impression that Mr. Smith, "one of the first performers on the Pianno Forte", was the chief performer on the program, in spite of the Von Hagens. This could hardly have been the fact. Peter Albrecht Von Hagen (1750-1803), teacher, concert performer, conductor and composer was an important musical figure in Boston (see Johnson's *Musical Interludes in Boston*). Beside the theatre and teaching, the father and son, also Peter Albrecht (1781-1837), had a music store where they sold instruments and sheet music, that included the "hit" songs from the productions popular at the Boston Theatre. The son followed his father as a teacher and performer, but he never lived up to the fame that he acquired as a child prodigy in New York City before coming to Boston. After the death of the father, the son faded into the background, and we seldom hear of him.

The full program of the October 1st concert appeared in the *Herald* on the 21st.

CONCERT.

VOCAL and INSTRUMENTAL.

At Union-Hall, on Monday, the 1st of October, to begin at 7 o'clock. Mr. Von Hagen, leader of the Boston Theatre and his Son, Two Gentlemen, Amateurs, Messrs. Dumain and Barbotte, and J. H. Smith will perform.

ACT I.

FEDERAL OVERTURE — by four Violins, tenor and bass. BATTLE of PRAGUE, on the Piano Forte—by Mr. Smith, accompanied by Messrs. Von Hagen.

DUETT, on the Violin and Tennor—by Messrs Von Hagen. PRESIDENT's MARCH—full piece.

SONG—Hail Columbia, hail, &c.

ACT II.

Simphonia Concertanto—the same performers.

A Piece for four hands on the Piano Forte—by Messrs Von Hagen.

SONG—Finale—Adams and Liberty, written by T. Paine —The tune will be sung by a gentleman.

CONCERT.
VOCAL AND INSTRUMENTAL.
At UNION-HALL, on Monday, the 1st of
October, to begin at 7 o'clock.

Mr. Von Hagen, leader of the Boston
Theatre and his Son,

Two Gentlemen, Amateurs,
Messrs. Dumain and Barbotte, and J. H.
Smith will perform.

ACT I.
FEDERAL OVERTURE—by four Vi-
olins, tenor and bass.

BATTLE OF PRAGUE, on the Piano
Forte—by Mr. Smith, accompanied by
Messrs. Von Hagen.

DUETT, on the Violin and Tenor—
by Messrs. Von Hagen.

PRESIDENT'S MARCH—full piece.
SONG—Hail Columbia, hail, &c.

ACT II.
Symphonia Concertante—the same perform-
ers.

A Piece for four hands on the Piano
Forte—by Messrs. Von Hagen.

SONG—Finale.—Adams and Liberty,
written by T. Paine.—The tune will be
sung by a gentleman.

Music for the Ball—Two Violins and
Bass.

Tickets at three quarters of a Dollar, to be
had at the place of performance.

Mr. SMITH respectfully informs the
public, that the whole will be conducted
with decency.

Messrs. Von Hagen are excellent perform-
ers. Messrs. Dumain and Barbotte have
kindly consented to assist in the perform-
ance.

N. B. The PIANO FORTE is for
sale at 149 dollars, warranted to be good.

Newburyport, Sept. 21.

CONTURA PRINT OF ADVERTISEMENT FROM NEWBURYPORT HERALD

FOR SEPTEMBER 21, 1798

(Essex Institute)

Tickets for the concert were expensive, "three quarters of a Dollar," to be had at Union Hall; but a dance followed the music, "Music for the Ball—Two Violins and Bass", somewhat softened the large fee. Mr. Smith promised that "the whole [would be] conducted with decency"; apparently he had learned from his summer's visit the temper of the citizens.

At the end of the program was to be found an "N.B. The Piano Forte is for sale at 140 dollars, warranted to be good." Mr. Smith lost heavily in his teaching venture in town, even the piano had to go!

As the date of the concert drew nearer, the Von Hagens came into a full reputation which was rightly theirs. Their names led all the performers, with Mr. Smith decidedly in the background, more in the role of a manager, though he was billed to perform. The writer has been unable to locate the names of the amateurs, Dumain and Barbotte, who could easily have been any of the many French emigrés active in Boston musical life. The advertisement of the 21st was repeated on the 25th and 28th, on the latter date, the publicity appeared on page one. On the 28th there was also an editorial:

CONCERT

The Lovers of music will doubtless be highly gratified at Mr. Smith's Concert, on Monday evening next. Mr. Von Hagen & Son will certainly be there, together with the other gentlemen mentioned in the bill; therefore the audience may expect to be highly pleased with the performance.

This was to be a gala occasion!

The plans were none too elaborate for the success. On the 1st of October there was the scheduled concert, and again on the 5th there was one, a repeat performance though there had been no advertising. All that we know of the concert for the 5th is to be found in the heading of the advertisement¹³⁵ for the following on October 12th, "MUSIC On Launching Day. For the last time at Union-Hall — (And by particular request of many who were necessarily prevented from attending last Friday evening's

performance [the 5th]) . . . [.]” The bare statement is the entire fact.

The Launching Day Concert on the 12th which follows in full is by far the best of this series, or any others that were given in Newburyport before 1800.

MUSIC

On Launching Day.

For the last time at Union Hall — (And by particular request of many who were necessarily prevented from attending last Friday evening's performance) — Will be a Concert of Music, on the evening of the day on which the Federal Ship will be launched, which is expected on Wednesday next — when the lovers of Music may expect for their entertainment the following:

PART I. OVERTURE.

Song, by Mrs. Graupner.

Quartetto, on the Hautboy, by Mr. Graupner.

The New Federal Song — “Hail patriots all,”

Mr. Von Hagen, jun.

The Battle of Prague, By Mr. Von Hagen, jun.

The Ladies Patriotic Song, By Mrs. Graupner.

PART II.

Concerto, on the Violin, by Mr. Von Hagen, sen. — A new Federal Song, Washington forever, by Mr. Von Hagen, jun. — A Rondo, on the Hautboy, by Mr. Graupner — The much admired new Echo Song, How do you do, by Mrs. Graupner — A Rondo, by the Performers.

To conclude, by particular desire, with the Favorite Duet of the Mountaineers, The Way Worn Traveller, By Mrs. Graupner and Mr. Von Hagen, jun.

N. B. No pains nor expence will be spared to render the Evening's Entertainment agreeable to the audience; as for that purpose Mrs. Graupner will come from Boston for that night only, whose merit in singing is sufficiently known, and requires no praise.

Price of Tickets to admit a Lady and Gentleman, One Dollar; do. for one person three quarters of a dollar.

Doors to be opened at 6, and the performance to begin at 7 o'clock.

After the Concert, the BALL will commence.

Tickets may be had at the place of performance only.

No money to be received at the door.

Newburyport, Oct. 9.

MUSIC On Launching Day.

For the last time at Union-Hall—
(And by particular request of many who were
nearly prevented from attending last Friday evening's performance)—

WILL be a Concert of Music,
on the evening of the day on which the Federal Ship will be launched, which is expected on Wednesday next—when the lovers of Music may expect for their entertainment the following:

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The Battle of Prague,

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The Ladies Patriotic Song,

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To conclude, by particular desire, with the Favorite Duet of the Mountaineers,

The Way Worn Traveller,

By Mrs. Graupner and Mr. Von Hagen, jun.

N. B. No pains nor expence will be spared to render the Evening's Entertainment agreeable to the audience; as for that purpose Mrs. Graupner will come from Bolton, for that night only, whose merit in singing is sufficiently known, and requires no praise.

Price of Tickets to admit a Lady and Gentleman, One Dollar; do. for one person three quarters of a dollar.

Doors to be opened at 6, and the performance to begin at 7 o'clock.

After the Concert, the BALL

will commence.

Tickets may be had at the place of performance only.

No Money to be received at the door.
Newburyport, Oct. 9,

ADVERTISEMENT FROM THE NEWBURYPORT HERALD

FOR OCTOBER 9, 1798

(Newburyport Public Library)

This Launching Day concert with four of the top Boston musicians performing some of their best numbers was a festival in Newburyport. The Von Hagens were musical leaders, while the Graupners were truly musicians. The *Herald* for October 9th contained a letter of publicity as well as the advertisement. The letter, signed by "W" recalls an earlier letter also signed "W", objecting to the musical in Boston in September of 1774.

Mr. Printer

I observe with pleasure that Messrs. Von Hagen and Graupner have consented to gratify the lovers of Music and innocent amusement, with a CONCERT and BALL Tomorrow Evening, on the Launching of the Ship. From the superior abilities of the performers, the excellency of the pieces, and the arrangement of the Evening's performance, I feel almost certain of meeting the highest entertainment. The vocal powers of Mrs. Graupner have been highly celebrated by Amateurs; and in the Ladies Patriotic Song have no doubt she will exceed the most sanguine expectations of those who are strangers to her merit. On such a particular occasion, as the launch of the first ship offered to the government by patriotic individuals, I cannot think the most rigid can object to so innocent and pleasing a relaxation. I wish the performers a full house, and hope all friends to their country and government will join to swell the chorus of Patriotic Songs.

A festive night indeed! As after the previous concert, a ball would follow. Would there be more music this evening than "Two Violins and Bass"? This letter contains the clue why there were not more theatrical performances in Newburyport, a fast growing Federalist town. The "most rigid" were the controlling people in the town who did object to stage shows and concerts, and they objected most audibly. If concerts required such pleadings in the press, as the above mentioned letter, what chance had the strolling players? The Puritan force was still strong in Newburyport, and tenacious. This plea for anything theatrical is the first the writer has found in Newburyport. Both the advertising and the letter stress what Boston had known and enjoyed, the excellency of the musicianship of the Von Hagens and the Graupners. Their influence moulded the

musical taste of Boston through the 1820's (see *Musical Interludes in Boston*).

This concert was the answer to many needs, enjoyment for those who loved music, money for the promoters (though Mr. Smith had by now, in the brighter constellation, faded into the background), and honor to the ship *Merrimack* which was to be launched on this day.¹³⁶

It was an anticlimax the following month to have Roswell Moulthrop bring his waxworks to town for a week. On November 13th he advertised in the *Herald* that he had opened his exhibition and would remove it the following Monday the 19th. These exhibitions of life-sized wax figures, dressed with some respect to historical accuracy and with recognizable features, contained individual and groups of famous persons of historical and contemporary fame; some of comic and others of moral persuasion. Notices of these wax museums appeared with great frequency in the Boston newspapers, especially at Bowen's Museum; and this collection at Union Hall is typical of them all.

Of course the show was at Union Hall for most of the exhibitions played there. The Assembly Room was outmoded and had fallen into disrepair and disrepute. The Hall at Deer Island was too far out of town for an exhibition which was to be opened all day. Like a Penny Arcade, this museum had to be where it could dazzle the passing crowds with its gaudy displays.

WAX-WORKS

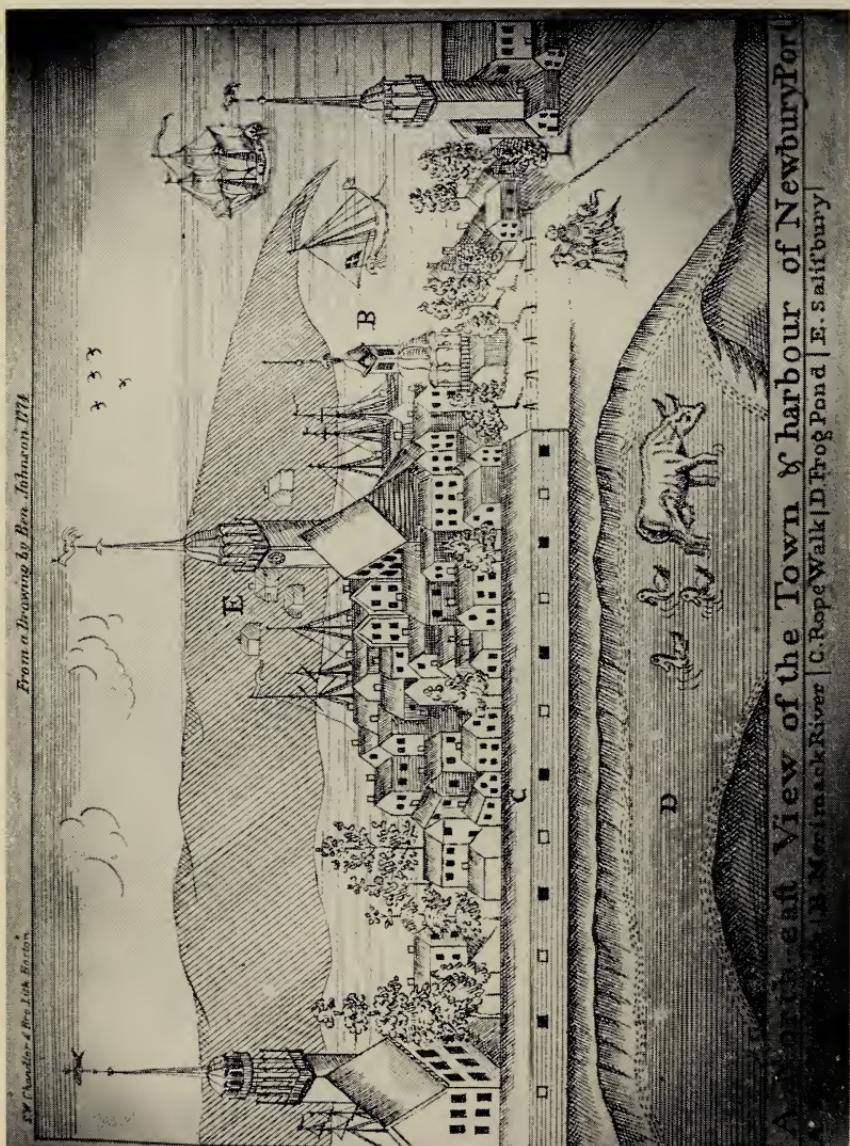
Roswell Moulthrop, respectfully informs the Ladies and Gentlemen of this town, that his new Exhibition of WAX FIGURES is now opened, at Union-Hall.

This Exhibition consists of twenty Wax-Figures, as large as life — among which are the following characters:

1. John Adams, President of the United States
2. David, going forth against Goliah [sic], with sling and stone. The figure of the Giant is truly majestic, with his coat of mail, and implements of War: This [is] allowed to be one of the greatest curiosities ever represented in Wax.

136 The ship, built by subscription by the people of Newburyport, was offered to the federal government to ward off the increasing attacks of the French and British upon the commerce of the new nation. See Currier: *History of Newburyport*, I, pp. 106-114; also editorial in *Newburyport Herald*, 10:12, 1798.

From a Drawing by Ben Johnson 1714



PHOTOGRAPH OF A PRINT USED IN JOHN J. CURRIER'S "HISTORY OF NEWBURYPORT"

3. A striking emblem of Virtue and Vice; in which Virtue is represented by a Seraphim with two beautiful children looking upward in pleasing devotion, and Vice by a Card Party, affrighted by a Demon.
4. Maternal Affection.
5. Connecticut Beauty.
6. The Rustic Courtship.
7. Mungo, being disciplined by his Master.
8. A bloody Contest between two Indian Chiefs.
9. Cuffee, in high life.

The exhibition was open from nine to nine, admission "one quarter of a dollar — Children half price." The *Herald* carried this news on November 13 and 16, 1798. The writer has never met the name of Roswell Moulthrop, but there was a Ruben Moulthrop in East Haven, Connecticut, soon after the Revolution who acquired fame making these wax figures. Perhaps this is the same man (see R. Wright: *Hawkers and Walkers in Early America*)?

Two exhibitions, one of natural curiosities, the other of wax works, closed the final season of the 18th century Newburyport theatre.

Surely there must have been in the earlier days many a wandering showman with a trained bear, a monkey, for this was a seaport town, though none have been recorded. Yet nature, with a generosity all her own, provided some early exhibits of curiosities. Rev. Thomas Cary (Diary, March 24, 1769) told of a whale that offered a few days' wonder, "A sperma Ceti Whale was found on Plumb Island Beech. 60 Feet long." A few days later he innocently wrote, "Went part of the Way to see the Whale." One wonders, was the wind from the east? Some twenty years later on November 16, 1789 another whale gained for itself some faint immortality as Alice Tucker noted it in her diary, "This has been a day of much animation, for carriages and foot people have been constantly passing to see a whale, which some fishermen found at sea and towed up to Oldtown bridge. I stood on his jawbone."¹³⁷ The

137 Alice Tucker, daughter of the Rev. John Tucker, lived at the parsonage in Newbury on the old High Road, the present Route 1A, running from Boston north through Newburyport. The bridge she speaks of was over the Parker River at the original site of Old Newbury. Diary owned by Gordon Hutchins, Concord, Mass.

Rev. Thomas Cary also joined the throng of the curious, "I went to the Bridge to see a Whale. It was a young one 60 feet long — found dead in the bay."¹³⁸ Another lonely and stray animal exhibit has been preserved by Alice Tucker in her diary entry for January 6, 1790, "Just after dinner a Traveler call'd to shew us a Porcupine — All the Family assembled in the Kitchen to look at it, but we were not at all pleased with its appearance, it is an ill formed stupid looking creature."

During the week of August 5-10, 1799 the first menagerie, — "a live *Alligator* — A *Gonnah* — a white *Doe* — a *Turtish* — " was shown. Coming from Boston, where these "Natural Curiosities" had been a great success, this menagerie was announced in the Newburyport *Herald* on August 6th and again on the 9th.

Natural Curiosities

To be seen at Mr. Edmund Bartlet's brick Store, North End. A live *Alligator*, with two of her young. This terrible and amphibious being is about 8 feet in length, and has excited the wonder and admiration of many. Naturalists allow that the difference is very small, if any, between the *Alligator* and the *Crocodile* of the Nile. Also, A *Gonnah*, Equally curious, nearly of the same specie, but smaller. And a beautiful white *Doe*, without a single colored hair, perfectly tame.

As these animals are a natural production of our country, and have never been exhibited in the northern parts of it, the proprietor flatters himself that all who have the curiosity to see them will be highly gratified, and any who are not satisfied shall have the money returned. Also A *Turtish* [Leopard Cat.]

Admittance for grown persons 1/6. Children 9d. — The gratification expressed by the ladies and gentlemen of Boston, it is supposed will be a sufficient inducement to those of Newburyport to partake of the same. They will positively be removed next Saturday. N. B. People in indigent circumstances will be welcomed to see them gratis next Saturday.

These wondrous creatures were shown at Edmund Bartlet's brick store on the southeast corner of Market and Mer-

Exhibition of Large
WAX FIGURES.

MR. WOODS respectfully informs the Ladies and Gentlemen of this town, and its vicinity, that he has just arrived with an exhibition of Wax-Work, &c. containing the following Figures, viz.

1. The President of the United States, dress'd in an elegant suit of black — It is universally allowed to be a very great Likeness.

2. His Excellency John Hancock, Esq. late Governor of Massachusetts, dress'd in a suit trimmed with gold lace.

3. A Beautiful young Lady.

4. A Likeness of one of the most beautiful young Ladies in N. York, called the New-York Beauty.

5. Maternal affection, or a Lady with a very beautiful little Child.

6. An Indian Warrior, with his tomahawk, scalping knife, belts, wampum, &c. who has the real scalp of a man, which was taken on the frontiers of America; he is a likeness of one which was at Bolton in 1790.

7. Molly, an Old Maid, whipping her Negro Boy.

8. Two young Ladies, representing Liberty and Justice; Liberty with her staff and cap; Justice, with her sword and balance, standing by the President.

ALSO—The Skin of a monstrous large snake, brought from South America, which measured when alive, upwards of 20 feet in length, and 2 feet round the body.

TWO AUTOMATON CLOCKS,

When put in motion, represents a chimney-sweeper, and his boy, who will suddenly make their appearance, the one at the door, and the other will rise out at the top of the chimney, and hollow sweep, sweep, &c. the other clock will represent a butcher knocking down an ox, &c. These clocks were lately brought from Germany, and are really deserving the attention of the public.

ALSO—Will be exhibited, a great variety of large and elegant Pictures, which are for sale, at the Exhibition Room.

THE ENTERTAINMENT will be accompanied with Music on the Organ.

The above Exhibition may be seen at Mrs. Hoyts in Boardman-street in Newburyport, on Monday the 11th of November from Nine o'clock, in the Morning until nine in the Evening.

Admittance One Quarter of a Dollar: Nine Pence for Children.

N. B. The Exhibition will be removed from this town on Wednesday morning the 22d inst. Nov. 12.

Will be sold at Public Auction,
On Thursday, next,
So much of the Real Es-

rimack Streets where they had the good luck to see their first elephant. A friendly gesture sometimes seen in early advertising, and a gesture which would lose the manager no money, was to invite the poor of the town to see the exhibit free on the last day.

Mr. Woods closed the 1799-1800 theatre season in November with an "Exhibition of Large Wax Figures" at Mrs. Hoyt's tavern on Boardman Street.¹³⁹ I don't know who this itinerant showman was. Perhaps he was the Mr. Woods who was at the Board Alley Theatre in 1792.¹⁴⁰ At any rate, Mr. Woods

respectfully inform [ed] the Ladies and Gentlemen, . . . that he [had] just arrived with an exhibition of Wax-Works, &c. containing the following Figures, viz.

1. The President of the United States, dressed in an elegant suit of black; — it is universally allowed to be a very great Likeness.
2. His Excellency John Hancock, Esq. late Governor of Massachusetts, dressed in a suit trimmed with gold lace.
3. A Beautiful young Lady.
4. A Likeness of one of the most beautiful young Ladies in N. York, called the New-York Beauty.
5. Maternal affection, or a Lady with a very beautiful little Child.
6. An Indian Warrior, with his tommahawk [sic], scalping knife, belts, wampum, &c. who has taken the real scalp of a man, which was taken on the frontiers of [A]merica; he is a likeness of one which was at Boston in 1796.
7. Molly, an Old Maid, whipping her Negro Boy.
8. Two young Ladies, representing Liberty and Justice; Liberty with her staff and cap; Justice, with her sword and balance, standing by the President.

Also — the Skin of a monstrous [S]nake brought from [S]outh [A]merica, which measured when alive, upwards of 20 feet in length, and two feet around the body.

TWO AUTOMATON CLOCKS,

When put in motion, represent a chimney sweeper, and his boy, who will suddenly make their appearance, the one at the door, the other will rise out of the top of the

139 *Newburyport Herald*, 11:12, 1799.

140 Clapp, p. 10.

chimney, and hallow sweep, sweep, &c. the other clock will represent a butcher knocking down an ox, &c. These clocks were lately brought from Germany, and are really deserving the attention of the public.

Also — Will be exhibited, a great variety of large and elegant Pictures, which are for sale, at the Exhibition Room.

The Entertainment will be accompanied with Music on the Organ.

This exhibition, advertised in the *Herald* on November 12th and 15th, but not on the 19th, opened on the 11th and promised to close on the 20th. To us accustomed to the mask-like perfection of film stars, these life-size figures, frowsy and battered from age and travel, would seem frightful. From the multiplicity of these exhibitions both on tours and in the cities, they were most popular and welcome to the curious and theatre-minded of that day. The Eden Musée in New York City is not too long closed, and Madam Tussaud still flourishes in London. Mr. Woods brought the second exhibition of pictures. Elegant they were too! and for sale, of course, in the "Exhibition Room" at Mrs. Hoyt's. I should like to know what Dolly Hoyt's "Exhibition Room" looked like. And what's this—"The Entertainment will be accompanied with Music on the Organ." City customs spreading into this quickening Federalist town! Since the middle of the 1790's Bowen had advertised organ music at his exhibitions of wax works, pictures and other displays. This organ which Mr. Woods had was probably a small barrel organ, such as Josiah Leavitt advertised that he made and repaired in Boston.¹⁴¹ The hours of Mr. Woods exhibition were continuous from 9 to 9. One quarter of a dollar and nine pence for children, the admission. Hurry! the exhibit would surely leave on Wednesday the 20th.

141 C. C., 4:23, 1800.

EXTRACTS FROM INTERLEAVED ALMANACS
OF NATHAN BOWEN, MARBLEHEAD, 1742-1799

NOTES BY W. HAMMOND BOWDEN

(Continued from Volume XCI, Page 283)

20th Cap^t Curtis's Sail loft took fire & was Intirely
Burned Down 30 odd of Sails Consumed Several
Setts of Rigen for New Schooners New Canvis & Duck &
Some Hundred Q^{ts}: of fish & another Ware house Con-
sumed & one Pulled Down at about Nine the Fire was
Extingush'd

28th People fitting out for Ileasables

March 1786

7th Went to Ipsw^h M^rs Bartlet Clark
9th Andrews & Scott at
10th Several Vessels Sailed
19th Mr Fisher Preach'd
21st No fisherman Sailed Sence the 10th Dixey
Arriv^d the 20th m 25 D^t from Bilboa Bartlett Arriv^d Bilboa
22^d 36 Sail Sailed for Ilesables
23^d Several Schooners Sailed

April 1786

3^d our People find a large Schooner on Tinkers Island
Cast away & found 2 Dead Bodys on Shore Several Vessels
we hear Suffered the Same fate

4th found another of the Dead Bodys the Schooner Lost
Capt Davis from Bilboa Belonging to Cape Ann Mr Jos^h
Barker of this Town lost his Sloop off Cape Ann load with
wood all the People Saved we hear off a Dead Body
taken up at Nahant

5th Nick went home another Dead Body
taken up in the afternoon 3 first taken up were Buried

6th fast Day other Buried

12th W^m Saled Let Richard Martin my lot by new
Meeting House for 3 Cord Wood & 8 Bush^l Protaters

14th another Man which was taken up Buried last
night

29th Prince House

May 1786

1st Went to Ipswich with M^r Dixey & with M^{rs} Foster
 7th the first Schooner from Ilesables Sam^{ll} Ashton Sh
 7500 fish

8th Pearce & Smith Arriv'd

29th News of Capt Lewis Ship being lost
 June 1786

6th Went to Ipswich with M^r Roundey

11th the first of M^r Olivers preach^g at church

18th M^r Oliver preach'd

25th No Church

July 1786

2^d M^r Oliver at church

9th Fisher preach'd

24th John Blackler Drowned

August 1786

2^d Nath^{ll} Roynald Drownded

8th Went to Ipswich for Benj^a Hind

10th Went to Salem & Lynn

September 1786

12th Appriz'd Estate

28th Arrivd here Capt Th^o Meek from Bilboa

30th Sailed Cap^t Gale for W Indies

October 1786

3^d Went to Ipswich Hale

6th Arrivd Capt R Dixey from West Indies few days
 after Capt Boyle from Baltimore

8th Benj^a Hawkes Arrived being absence 5 y^{rs} last Aug^t,
 4 years of it in the East Endies¹⁷

15th No Church

24th Brother Jos^h Came arrived here Peter Homan
 first fall fair

November 1786

1st Sailed Cap^t Ambrose James for W Indies

8th Afternoon arrivd here Skipper Th^{os} Brown
 large Vessells with fall fare

9th Early this morn^g arrivd here Cpt Nicholas Bartlet
 from W Indies This afternoon arrivd here Skipper from

17 The voyage is unidentified, but must have been one of the
 earliest.

W Indies This afternoon arrivd here Skipper Frances Bowden between 400 & 500

10th Sailed Capt John Bartlet for W Indies Same day Sailed Brig Capt Jont Neal from Salem

12th arrivd here Skipr John Harris from fishg with loss of cables & Anchors

13th Skipper Phillip Ashton Got in here

23^d 7 Vessels in of the Fall fair 3 of them lost all their Anchors no fish very bad weather on the Banks

28th Benja Hawkes Sailed with Bartlett

December 1786

5th Still 50 Odd of our fisher Men Out

7th 51 sail of our Fishermen out on their fall fair never so late before

9th 4 of our Schooners got in Skp Tho Daliber & W^m ashton Drowned

10th No Church or Meeting this Day 47 Sail out

11th Tho Hooper & Valentine Tedder Jun^r Coming from Salem Saturday Evening last Perish'd between Gardner's Mills and the Town & not yet found

12th Hooper & Tedder found at Some Distance from each other

14th Thanksgiven Hooper Buried

19th 30 Persons Perrish'd in the last Storm between Cape Ann & Cape Cod

22^d More Snow on the Ground Says a News paper than has been Seen in this Country at any time Sence that which fell about 70 years ago Commonly termed the Great Snow

25th 8 Sail of fall fair men out

28th Saw W^m Blackler in Schooner Sink Wind was So Hig Cold not assist them all perrish'd

Jan^{ry} 1787

1st Went to Ipswich for Grant Brown Benja Lovis & Clarks Estate Return'd

22^d Haskel Arrived from Bilboa out 90 Odd Days Lewis from West Endies

February 1787

6th Went to go to Ipswich but Could not with 4 Horses

25th Mr Clark Preached

March 1787

2^d Paddaway Sailed
 6th Hawkes Came
 10th Several Vessels Went Out
 18th Barker arriv'd
 19th Son W^m Sailed
 22^d Benj^a Hawkes Arrived

April 1787

2^d Went to Ipswich with M^{rs} Doliber & al
 13th Benj^a Hawkes Sailed
 15th Brother Prince Departed this life
 16th Mr Chamblet Died
 18th Brother Prince Buried
 20th a very large fire at Boston
 24th Went to Salem to the Judge

May 1787

5th M^{rs} Curney Died
 7th Went to Ipswich with Le Craw

June 1787

6th Hawkes's Amos Son & Daughter Came

July 1787

12th Went to Salem with M^{rs} Prince Mr Smith & Mr Evans
 25th Benj^a Hawkes Arriv'd

August 1787

10th Several french Men of War when to Boston
 15th Bartlett & Son William Sailed

Septem 1787

4th Went to Ipswich via Grant & Gardner
 5th Went to Danvers & Middleton via Smiths Estate

October 1787

1st Went to Ipswich with my wife
 9th Benj^a Hawkes Sailed with Trevett
 20th Several fall fair Men in with large fairs 400 to 500 Q^{ts}

November 1787

5th Went to Ipswich Hawkes Grant & Bartlett
 8th Went to Salem via Blackler Bartlett Grant & Hawkes
 19th Most part of our fall fair men in, all with large fairs Computed to be 400 Q^{ts} on an average

Decem 1787

3^d Went to Ipswich with M^{rs} Lio
 10th Went to Salem & Lynn to Post Notifications via
 Hawkes & Grants Estate
 25th Some part of our fall fish weighed off and a great
 many fairs yet to weigh and almost all in the fish Houses
 never known so soon and so much fish a fall fair but the
 markets Dull Expecting a warr with England and france
 which must bring us in I fear

Jan^y 1788

1st Political Conversation now seems to be most about
 the new form of Goverment our State Convention meet
 at Boston the 8 of this month for the acceptance or Refusal
 of the Constitution¹⁸ God Grant they may be directed
 from above, may they have the Good of the Publick at heart
 as we have now begun a new year may we begin it to the
 Lord, I have reason to fear there will something uncommon
 Come upon us this year may it not be our Destruction

7th M^r Devereux buried
 9th heard from Boyles
 13th arrived here Cap^t R Dixey after recovering his
 Vessell at W Indies
 15th Sailed Cap^t Burnham for bilboa
 17th Sailed Cap^t A James for West Indies
 18th Son of Cap^t Trevet arrivd at Cape Ann Arrivd
 Cap^t Nick Bartlet Cap^t Trevet

Feby 1788

3^d Cap^t B Boddn arrivd & Cap^t D Dennis
 7th Nathan went to Boston very much
 throngd in our Even^g Meet^g

10th arrivd Cap^t John Bartlet
 11th hear of Cap^t John Russell in to Eastward
 16th arrivd Phill B 10 m from W Indies
 18th Sailed Skipper John Roads our first Sablemen
 22^d arrivd Cap^t Russell
 26th Sailed B Thompson
 28th M^r Stover 1st Lecture

March 1788

5th Newhall & I went to Salem
 18 The absence of any opinion either pro or con is interesting.

9th Mr Spald^g Preach^d
 12th Capt John Brown from Balt^m
 16th Capt To Barke arriv'd here 4 or 5 Sail
 18th Capt Gorden arrivd from Carolina
 22^d Sailed Bean & meder Capt N Bartlet
 23^d Arrivd Capt Boyles from Virginia Bishop here
 30th Mr Wadsworth Preach'd at Old Meet^g
 31st Mr Wait from Charlestown

April 1788

2^d Arriv'd Capt Patten from W Indies
 7th Bartlet Sailed Govern^g
 8th Croswell
 10th Skip^r Milsard returnd IsleSables
 11th Fath^r & Self at Salem Mr Mirrill here
 13th Patten Sailed fishing
 15th arrivd Capt
 16th Mr Tredwell Came here
 17th Capt B Boden Sailed arrivd John Roads first
 IleSableman soon after Capt Rowell W Indies
 19th Horten Sailed 200 q^{ts} Boge Thompson
 20th Dixey & Procter from Virginia
 22^d Mr H Preach^d at Society J Bowden arrivd
 25th Skip^r Pribble with men from IleSables
 30th Sailed Boge Thompson

May 1788

7th Mr win Rowley Preach at our
 8th Capt Jacob Lewis from W Indies
 12th Cap^t Burnham arrivd
 Bilboa today J Harris & others IleSablemen
 14th Mr Spald^g Even^g
 18th Several fishermen & Capt Jonas Dennis from
 Bilboa
 19th Blackler Eastward Jo Selman arr^d
 21st last n^t arrivd Cap^t
 24th Mr Green Preach at New Meet^g
 31st Mother Martin from Boston

June 1788

5th Mara & I went to Andover
 9th Crocker here
 17th Even^g arrivd Capt B Boden W Indies & Skip^r Craw

22^d I with Mr^s L & Mr^r N & Mas^r M to Beverly to hear the Revd Mr^r Stillman Preach

23^d Capt^t N Hooper from bilboa & Skip^r John Road 1st
2^d fair Man

24th arrivd Pribble & Frances Bowden 2^d fair with
400 qq

25th Boge Thompson 2^d fare

26th Self & wife went to Salem

27th arrivd Capt^t John Bartlet from W Indies

28th Cap^t Rich^d Dixey from W Indies

July 1788

2^d A Number of us went to Salem to hear the Rev^d
Mr^r Stilman

3^d Rev^d Mr^r Stilman Preach^d here

5th yesterday Jn^o Lewis Sailed Skip^r Grow 2^d fair

6th John Harris 2^d fair Watson brig Sailed

18th Sailed Capt^t Rob^t Hooper for Spain

25th Laskey Sailed for Eastward arrivd Cap^t Sam^l
Horten from Bilboa

29th arrivd Capt^t _____ Trevet N Bartley Sam^l Sweet
from Bilboa Also Sam^l Gale with a fine fair they all
bring fine fares

31st Mr^r Oliver preach at Mr^r Stovers Meet^g

August 1788

1st Olimore & al fine fare

3^d W^m Caswell & al 2^d fare

6th Laskey from East^{wd} Several 2^d fare all bring
from 16 to 2000 fish & al

7th Mr^r Homan from Ipswich Came

8th last n^t W^m Bartlet 2500

13th Sailed Capt^t N Bartlet for bilboa

14th Sailed Capt^t Burnham d^o

16th Frances Bowden 3^d fare 350 qq

20th Came here Rev^d Mr^r Green & Preachd at P Meet^g
Rev^d Mr^r Storey was there What I never Expected

21st Great talk & oppos to Mr^r S Conduct Last Even^g
Mr^r Green Preach at P M

22^d Mr^r Green & went home Even^g

24th Sailed Capt^t Trevet Bilboa

27th Sailed Capt^t Jo Hinkley in Dean brig

29th Mr^r J Martin & Self

30th Boge Thompson31st arrivd Cap^t Thos Lewis from W Indies, a Voyage
of 9 weeks Same day Sam^l Caswell & al from fishing30th Arrivd Cap^t John Griste from Isle Rea30th Saild Cap^t B Boden W Indies

Sept 1788

3^d Mr Hopk P Mee10th Master M Child Buried11th Saild Cap^t John Bartlet for west In14th Last night Skip^r Grow were was Got in
today W^m Main got in 3^d15th I went to Raising Lord house Pama & al
Saild17th Saild Cap^t John Griste for BilboaCap^t R Hinckly arrivd from W Indies25th Saild Skip^r Grow Where Jo Selman was, for fall
fare26th Saild Cap^t Lewis for West Indies
Brown Jun^r & Sam^l Obimore 3^d fare

Oct 1788

3^d Cap^t Cowell arrivd from W Indies11th Cap^t Page arriv^d from Russia Providence brig17th W^m Caswell fall fare21st Council Came here of 5 ministers28th Rob^t Wooldige & al Got in fall fare & bring Acct
of one the Brum being overset29th Raisd Mr Collyer Store

Nov 1788

10th Mr Martin & myself went to Ipswich, Church
Meet^g Even^g12th Mr Nin Preach'd Even^g16th last n^t arriv'd Cap^t Rob^r Hooper from Isle Rea19th Arrivd J Russell22^d Saild Ph Besom for w Indies30th Saild Cap^t J Collyer & Cap^t Patten W Indies

December 1788

1st Nich^e Gale last fall fare men Got in Jo Majery &
W^m Brown2^d Jenny Marrid4th arrivd Cap^t Boden from Turk Isld6th Put our work on Boad Furnice

8th arriv'd Capt John Bartlet and Cap^t R Dixey from
W Indies

10th D Dennis for

11th Saild N. Melzard for Virginia

14th Saild Furnice for Virginia Johnson Bilboa

21st Mr Bradford Preach to day & Even^g

28th Mr Moses Bradford Preach all day at House

Sunday

January 1789

4th Mr Bradford Preach all Day & Even^g at Schols

11th Saild Capt Boyles for Maryland

22^d Ministers here to Set of Church

7th Joshua from Eastw^d absent 32 Days

February 1789

3^d Mrs Smith Came home at Night not well

March 1789

4th Several Vessells Sailed for Illesables

5th Joshua Sailed

8th Mr Abrahams Vessell Sailed

25th Cap^t Cole Buryed who Died the 23^d Dropt
Down Dead as he had been Spliting wood never Spock
a word

April 1789

8th Benj Hawkes Sailed

14th Went to Salem finish Mrs Darling D^o Benj
Blaney

15th D^o to Salem Mrs Pearce & Mrs Chamblet

25th first two Vessell from Illesables Gould & 150
Hundred Quintals Each

May 1789

5th Went to Ipswich to Bartletts Dower &
Settle Admin^{tn} Acc^t

13th Russell Sailed West Endies

19th Joshua got in

28th Joshua Hawkes Sailed

June 1789

2^d Mr Carder Buried

9th Went to Danver to Set of Mr Smiths off Dower

12th Eben & Amos Hawkes Came & Amos's Wife

16th Nathanael Hawkes & Deborah Kimball Joshua
Doughtor Came from England

30th Mr Bubier Died

July 1789

2^d Mr Bubier Buried11th Cowall Arrived from West Indies, Buried 2 of his Hand on the Passage Coming home all Sick12th John Rogers one of Cowells hands Died Mr Bass Preached16th Went to Salem George Thomson W^m Blackler Green Clough Barker Rogers18th Jonas Glover Buried Cowall Mate20th the other of Cowalls hands Died so that the Mate and 4 hands Died Sence they left the Westendies being all Except the Cap^t Benja Hawkes Arrived the 19th

August 1789

3^d Went to Ipswich with Grant & Prentiss to prove Mr Bubiers will11th Grist Sailed Joshua Hawkes got in

September 1789

2^d Mother Bowen Died at 3 this morn^g3^d Benja Hawkes Sailed4th Mother Bowen Buried8th Went to Ipswich for a Warrant to apprise Personal Estate given the Widow Went to Newbury Port to Collect Money Calleys Estate23^d appriz'd all my Fathers things

October 1789

5th Went to Ipswich Return Fathers Inventory Mal-com for Lawrence & Shrevellear Warr^t Set off Goodins Dower23^d Moved to My Fathers House29th Washington Come Much a Due

November 1789

12th Joshus Hawkes got in

December 1789

18th Vendue of My Fathers furniture which Remained19th Mrs Stiles & Mrs Wight took House22^d Nathanael Kimball Came

January 1791

3 Skipper Ashton Arrived from Grand Bank who went out a winter fishing on the Grand Bank gone 7 weeks

brought in 40 Q^{ts} in a Schooner 70 Odd Tuns belonging to Cap Samuel Hooper

6 My Son Edw^d Still Raving and been So for 10 weeks past

8 Son Better

14 My Son Edward as Raving at night as ever

15 My Son quit Distracted

February 1791

7 went to Ipswich with M^{rs} Deacon abbot and Harris & Brimblecom

15 Capt Benja Hawkes Sailed

18 Brother Kimball

22 the Kimballs and Joshua Hawkes went to Boston

26 John Conway Jun & Richardson Sailed for Grand Bank

March 1791

8 Son Will^m & James Sailed with John Teshew

May 1791

2 went to Ipsw^h with Doc Drury

5 Conway 250 Quintals from Illesable Bank

7 Sam^{ll} Giles from Illesables 200 Qu^{ts} lost

25 James got in and Benja Hawkes last night

June 1791

6 James and William Sailed

12 Church open'd Mr Warren from Cambridge

28 the Methodist Bishop Preach'd at the New Meeting

July 1791

5 apprized Elisha Gatchels Estate

17 Mr Harris Read prayer &c

18 went to Lynn to Set off Potters Estate

20 last night Benja Hawkes Came from Eastw^d Benj Hawkes Child Died

26 Son Edward went with his Brother Capt Benja Hawkes in his Vessell to the Eastward to See if it would help him in his Disorder

August 1791

2 went Ipswich for M^{rs} Smith

20 Son Edward Came home from Eastw^d last night

September 1791

5 Son James Arrived from the Bay

21 Son James Sailed with Tishew

22 Son James Came back
 23 went to Salem to Settle with M^r Prescott Via Prin-
 ces Estate
 24 Son James Sailed
 October 1791
 3 Dismasted Ship went to Boston
 4 went to Ipswich with W^m Hawkes to prove Eliz^a
 Reddens will
 8 Capt^t Benj^a Hawkes Sailed for West Indies
 9 Cowall & Jn^o Prince Arrived
 14 Joshua Hawkes & Kimball Came
 18 Joshua Hawkes & Joshua Kimball went home
 26 Nath^{ll} Hawkes Came
 27 he went to Lynn
 November 1791
 6 M^r Harris Came and preach'd at Church in the after-
 noon
 19 M^{rs} Prince Leveled her Fathers Estate
 30 Son James Came Home fall fair
 December 1791
 15 Sons Nathan and William Sailed for Virginia with
 Capt^t James
 Ashton the last of the fall fair men got in
 January 1793
 See the Remarks in last years Regester till the 16th of
 January
 February 1793
 3 Clament M^r Smith paid me
 10 Proctor
 15 Son Hawkes arrived
 22 Woldrage & Laskey Sailed
 28 Provisions of all kind very Dear
 March 1793
 6 John Martins Sloop oversut
 7 Martin got his Sloop up
 20 four Vessells gone after a great Dispute about Shares
 & Cuttales
 22 a Vast Many Schooners Sailed for the Banks
 April 1793
 25 Jos^h Andrews Buried

May 1793

1 Leases let on the Neck for 1793

Cap ^t Forster	1
John Thrasher	1
Cap ^t Hooper	1
W ^m Harris	1
Henry Roads	1 1/3

Leases let in Great field 1793

Mark Graves	1
George Roundey Jun ^r	1
Sal Stevens	1
J Cloutman 1 flock Sam ^{ll} Chapman 1	2
Marston Watson Esq 1 Joseph Homan 1 pd	2
Brooks & Beal 1 Green 3	

2 Cartain News of King Prussia having Defeated the french Army who lost 20,000 men

- 4 Ned from Schoole
- 6 went to Ipswich with M^{rs} Peach
- 7 Sarah School to Bond
- 9 Set last night at M^r Esq Church Vestry
- 10 Woldrage from Grand Bank like to be poor Illesable fairs
- 27 great part of our fishermen in Average what's in about 180 Q^{ts} vastly better than last year
- 28 Set on Lindsey Estate

June 1793

- 11 Hawkes Came
- 13 Hawkes went home Sent Rowell of Salesbury £6"0"10 2/3
- 23 Lewis Russell Buried

July 1793

- 1 Church Steple taken Down being Rotten
- 7 M^{rs} Abraham Buried
- 10 went to Salem for Doct Lord
- 11 went to Salem for M^{rs} Peach Poor and M^{rs} Hooper
- 21 No Church Mr Harris unwell
- 25 Son James Arrived with Bray
- 30 My Father Moved in the House I now live in 65 years ago
- 31 Wardens & Vestry Meet a M^r Watsons

August 1793

5 went to Ipswich with M^{rs} Reed via Gordens Estate
 9 apprized Deacon Dolibers Estate
 12 this Morning a 1/2 past two Son James went to Boston in Order to Sail with Cap^t Nich^o Browden
 19 our Vessells Several of them got in from Grand Bank large fairs 500 to 600 Quintale Some More
 23 Son James Sailed from Boston
 24 Jos^h Kimball Came from Boston

September 1793

8 Ponds in Town Dry that people in town 80 Add years old never know to be Dry towit Reds pond and Mill pond both at the Northerly part of the town

28 Son Joshua Came from Boston

October 1793

2 Joshua Kimball went to Buxton Home
 3 Morrel from Windham
 14 Governor Hancock Buried
 17 began to Shave with Putnam

November 1793

4 went to Ipswich with M^{rs} Pama & Mr Ashton
 14 went to Salem with Mr Padua & others
 15 Cap^t Benj^a Hawkes Sailed
 20 went to Salem for Exec of
 23 Nath^{ll} Hawkes Came
 30 Son James Arrived with Browden

December 1793

6 Joshua Kimball Jun Came
 19 Richard Coombs Buried a Sermon Preach'd
 24 in great fear of our Vessells being taken by the Turks

January 1794

6 went to Ipswich with Jackson
 14 M^{rs} Andrews Died
 23 at night a great Cry of fire at Salem very bad Travel^g but our Ingine and a Vast Maney of our people went to Salem and got most part of the way but found it Some Tarr sut on fire for Rejoyce^g

February 1794

5 Stevenson Arrived from Bilboa
 13 Bayley got in from Bilboa out 100 & odd Days

20 Lydia Thompson Died
 22 Lidia Thomson Buried

26 formerly at this time of the year we had 70 or 80
 Sail of our Fishermen fitting out for Illeasable and now
 but 2 or 3 Expecting a War Capt John Grist Died taken
 very Suddantly him and his wife taken on Sunday Morning
 neither of them Spock Sence She now in a Dying
 Posture

28 M^{rs} Grist Died

March 1794

2 M^r Grist and Wife Buryed

4 Son Nathan & Brimblecom went to Ipswich Wold-
 rage Sailed

9 Cap^t Joshua Orne arrived from Bilboa out 130 Days

14 Capt B Hawkes taken

17 our fishermen afread to go to Sea for fear of a warr
 all Sorts of Business very Dull

31 Benmain Hawkes got home from being taken in
 Westedies with several other Cap^{ts} who Bought one of their
 Schooners after She was Condem'd

April 1794

2 James Sailed fishing wth Clark

24 Embargo til the 25th of May to Continue til that
 time

May 1794

12 Doc Lord Ded

16 Sam^{ll} Snow in one of fishermen in 120 Quin-
 tals

June 1794

10 James Arrived

21 James Sailed

27 Ben^a Hawkes Sail'd

July 1794

3 apprising Henry Hoopers Estate

10 went to Salem with M^{rs} Stacey

17 wife very III and has been So for 8 or 9 Days past

30 appearance of a large fire towards Boston

August 1794

28 Sold Chapmans House

September 1794

16 Son James Sailed

17 Peter Morrel Came from Windham
 26 Wife very Ill no likelihood of her Recovery
 October 1794

4 Benj^a Hawkes Child Died
 6 Wife Still alive Benjamin Hawkes Child Buried
 13 at $\frac{1}{4}$ past 9 A M My Poor Wife Departed this life
 after a Confinement of 14 Weeks Most part of the time
 full of Pain

15 Buried My Wife aged 52 years 24 October last
 22 John Prince Arrived last night
 November 1794

8 Son James got in yesterday out 7 weeks & 3 Days
 December 1794

1 went to Ipswich with M^{rs} Stacey in M^r Greens Stage
 January 1796 [2]

8 the night before lost a ship Capt^t Macca of Boston
 was cast away on the Gousburys Capt^t and three Hands
 Drownded Ship from Amsterdam the Capt^t Came to Bos-
 ton 2 of the Men are not as yet found a Negro Boy
 found with the Capt^t Buried here

13 Capt^t Benj^a Hawkes Sailed
 17 Son James Sailed with Sam^{ll} Roundy for Rotterdam
 Holland Put Back

20 Capt^t Lindsey in Coll^o Ornes Brigg Arrived
 21 Capt^t Sam^{ll} Roundey Sailed Son James with him
 Rob^t Hooper for Bilboa

March 1796

24 Son William Arrived last night
 April 1796

7 M^r Burrel Devereux Buried
 9 Pousland from Cadiz

22 Old M^r Knott Martin Died this forenoon aged 88
 years very Sickly in town

23 fisher wife Died last night
 May 1796

20 M^{rs} Lord Died this afternoon
 22 M^{rs} Lord Buried

23 went to Danvers to View the Road to be Laid out
 partly in Salem and partly in Danvers

June 1796

9 Son James Sailed for Rotterdam with his Brother in

law Cap^t Sam^{ll} Roundey Coll^o Azor Orne Buried he Died at Boston the 7th he being one of the Counsellors the Gov^r & Counsell then Setting

16 Rec'd 7 Cord of wood from Coll^o Glover at P Cord

July 1796

3 My Sister Stiles Departed this life in the 66 of her age

4 Sister Stiles Buried

16 Confined to My Chamber being very Sick and have been so for 3 or 4 Days

19 Getting Better thanks be to my good God for it

September 1796

6 William in from Banks out weeks

30 this Day My Father Edward Bowen took to his Chamber and never never more came Down

Nathan Bowen

It will be seen on previous page that my great grandfather Edwd Bowen wrote his remarks on fly leaves as he had been accustomed up to & including Sept 29th — the day before he took to his bed in his last sickness as above is by his son my grandfather Nathan Bowen who himself died in 1837 — 41 years afterwards — Isaac Story — Sept 20th 1896 —

[ENTRIES BY ASHLEY BOWEN]

January 1788¹⁹

12th this Evening I Rescued of Cap J Dixcey

19 There is additional material by Ashley Bowen in the possession of the Marblehead Historical Society, Marblehead, Mass., furnished by Miss Gertrude A. Nielson as follows:

Ashley Bowen born 1728 died 1813.

1. Journal of an Apprentice Seaman, 1739-1741, illustrated.
2. Log Book of H. M. S. *Pembroke*, No. 8203.

(Expedition against Quebec, 1759.) [This has been published in the Essex Institute Historical Collections, Vol. 70, p. 227.]

3. Sloop *Oliver* & courtship of Dorothy Chadwick, No. 7571.
4. Day Book, 1766-74, No. 7573. Illustrated in water-colors; flags of all nations, private signals of Marblehead merchants. (This has an older diary bound with it.)
5. Ship journals 1753 and 1760. No. 7568.
6. Voyage to the West Indies, 1779. All these in manuscript. Also, Day Book of Nathan Bowen, Justice of the Peace from 1768 to 1775. "This day appeared before me etc." (This also has something else bound in with it).

13th this morning I find Capt Dixcey Saft in our Harbour
 15th This morning My Son Nathan Sett of for Boxford
 17th We hear Cap^t Sam Trevit Is arivd at Cape Ann
 18th Came in Capt Sam Trevit & Capt Necho Bartlet from Boxford the Remains of John Hooper Widdow of Clemmons Wifes Mother was Buryed
 19th this day I am Saft Arivd to My Sixtyeth year of My Age in Good Bodyly helth My Great God be Thankd for all his Marcyes

20th This day Mr Olever Sick So Church not open
 26th Saild Rich Cowell
 27th I With My Wife attended Church all day Note Olever Did not pray for the Congrace att all We hear Strang News from Salem about one Ben Hooper of Newbury Son to Joseph Hooper an Absantee in Old England

February 1788

19th this day Delivr^d a to Willeom
 22^d Deliv a flagg to M^r Rob Hooper
 23^d Delivr a to M^r Sam Garry 5/
 26th Delivrd two Pendants for Mast head to Rob Hooper Junr This day Employed a M^r Will Knight Shrouds at Porters Loft

27th Deliv^d a Sutt of Rigen to M^r Wooderd Aberamo
 March 1788

6th finished four P of Shrouds for M^r Will Knight Schoon *Molly*

7th Recivd a gang of Shrouds and Stay from M^r Richd Prince for a Small Schooner Deliv and Endsine With an English Unyon and Stripes To M^r Richd Homond of Delivr a Long Pendent to M^r Gray Sam Olle-more price 2/

8th Employed on M^r Prince Rigen Delivrd 4 P of Shrouds to M^r William Knight

15th Made a flagg for M^r M Wattson Brown
 17th Recived a Coile of Shrouds and Jibb Stay a Coile for Tyes, a Coile for Main Sheet and Toping and a Coile for Small &c and 3 Coiles of Spun yarne for Cap^t Acer Orne

18th Delivr a flagg to M^r Wattson

19th Employed on M^r Ornes Shrouds

21st this day being good Friday I attended Church all day Note My Wife Hannah Was Crisned and at One o Clock My Son Nathan Sailed With Thorn Peech Hamman on a fishing Voige

22^d this day Imployed on M^r Ornes Rigel this Evening Came to town the Bishop

23^d this day being Easter Sunday the Write Reverend Father in God Bishop Seabury Preeched and in the foor noon he Conformed People of all Denominations Note My Self and Wife and Dofter Molly Ware Conformed By Bishop Seabury

26th this day I delivrd M^r Princes Rigel to him Self and Capt Orns Standing Rigel with Tyes & 10 blocks and 2 Coile of Rigel

28th Delivrd an Endsine to M^r Wattson

29th Capt Edward Bowen Had new apprizers Sworn to apprise My Fathers Estate again

30th Sunday this day I attended St Michals all day Wife half day

31st Delivred the Remainder of Capt Orns Blooks to M^r Gail and Sum blooks of M^r Richd Prince Made a flagg for M^r Melzerd

April 1788

1st this day I demanded of Capt Edward Bowen to put the Devision Deed on Record and he Said he wold not and I went to Salem but M^r Pinshin was gone to Ipswich & this after noon Came Capt Thom Lewis Capt Thom Procktor M^r Joshua Prentis with Edward Bowen and Examined my hous

2^d I wate for the motion of Capt Bowen this Evening Doctor Lord Came and that the action must go on and I Gave him a Letter to M^r Pinchon to act for me

7th this day a Town Meeting for to Chuse A Governor &c &c John Hancock for Chief Governer & Linkhorne Lei Governer

9th Sailed Capt John Bartlett and Capt Page arived John Grist from and Nick Melzerd from ye Banks With his Ribs broke &c

11th Came round R Prince in a Sumthing I saw John White

12th Capt Josaway Orne Schooner

15th Came in Capt Ambr James from West Indias
 17th Came In Capt Cowell & John Roads from y^e Banks
 fishing
 21st Saild John Grist for Europe
 May 1788

2^d Note M^r Treadwell had a Lector at Meeting House
 about the

3^d our Dofter Patty un Well
 4th Note the Orgins Went at Church
 7th Came in
 11th Sunday at 10 o Clock Wife was deliv of a Sun
 15th this day Impoyed on M^r R. Pedericks Rigan with
 M^r Nick Melzerd

17th Deliverd an Endsine to M^r Gray for Sam Olle-
 more and two vanes to Ollem Recivd an Endsine for John
 Harris

18th Sunday this day Is Trinity as M^r Olever is
 abstant our Son Is not Christned

24th this morning My Son Nathan Came in from fish-
 ing

27th Employed Sum on boarding Schooner Crock-
 er half day

29th this day Employed 2 hours on board M^r
 Schooner Capt John Son To Capt Stacy

30th this day Recived all M^r Grists Standing Rigan
 to Recivd a Jibb Stay from y^e for Capt
 John Dixey Moses Made a flagg for Capt R James

31st I Ley on bord Schooner R Hinkly
 June 1788

1st Sunday this day at Sun Rising histed the Callors
 on board and then I Came on Shore &c this day Sailed
 My Son Nathan in Tho Hammon & Sailed Schooner
Reward Rich Hinkley and anumb of our fisher men this
 after Noon My Ambros Was Christened at St Michols by
 the Revrd M^r Olever M^r & Bowen Stood
 with me

2^d this day Recive two Paterns of Endsins of the Same
 Dementons 27° of Buntin one for Capt John Dixey and
 Skip the other for M^r Rchd Pedrick Goodwin at
 noon Recivd a Coile of Shrowding & 2 Coiles of Spun yarn
 & a Jibb Stay from M^r John Grist for his Schoone

4th this day Delivrd Schoone Main Riging to Skiper
Brooks

7th Recived all most a Bushel of Corn from Capt John
Dixcy

10th Recived a pateren of a flagg for M^r Richd Pedrick
Delivered my Bill to M^r Grist for Schoone

11th this day Made a flagg for R. Pederick

13th Came in a brigg from Provedence Smith belonging
to Brown

14th this day Came hear M^r Moses Porter of Boxford
& We Setled a Note Which Porter Gave My Wife Dorothy
and Porter Gave Me his Note for £5.8.9 on Intrest and
gave my Doftor Hannah his note for £6.3.0 on Intrest
So the hole at this Settelmen £11.11.9 and they are
dated to February y^e 12 1788

15th Sunday this day I atted Church all Day with
my Childn and Satt up in y^e Garlery

18th Came in Capt Benj Boden from West Indies and
Sum fisher men Sailed Capt Richard for W
Indies and Nickle Melzard for the

20th Note Mr Tho Porter hath taken Procesion of
the Loft that I formerly hierd of Robert Hooper Esqr

21st this after noon I heped Mr Thom Porter to Re-
move to his Old Loft again

22^d Sunday this day I attended Church all Day with
my Wife and We Satt in a pue that was Thom Grists Nir
the Stare

23^d Came in Capt Robert Hooper from france Mother
Bowen Not Well

25th this day Recivd a patern of a P of Shrouds from
Capt Forstor to fix

26th I Went and Took the Wate of fish at Capt Sam
Hoopers 50

27th this day the four noon I put M^r Wattson over to
Neck I Charge i hour this after noon I went to Beverly
with John Melvel and Tarried all Nig

28th after noon We Came Round to our ferry With
Melbels Boatt &c Came in Richd Dixcy Schnr Bartlet

30th M^r went to Beverly and I Went to Salem
and Saw M^r Pinchon Note Doctr Olever went with me
July 1788

1st at 5 o Clock I Satt of for Beverly by Land and found Nothing to be dun and Mr Melvell Satt me over to our ferry Mr John Hines In Quiering for Me about his Riging &c

2^d this day Recived Sum Shrouding from Mr Gray for Mr John Hines and 2 Coiles of Spun yarn from ye Walk for Mr Hines & a bucket of Tar from Mr Watson for Mr Hines

3^d this day Reciv Sum Cordeg from Mr Grays Store for Hines this after noon Employed takeing ye Wate of fish for Mr Wattson from R Homons 52 1/4

5th this day Employed in Loft Recivd y 1/2 of 4 of white 3 of Blew Buntin from Mr Joseph Lewes for Mr Robort hooper & Tickling Buny and Thread from M^{rs} Hooper a English Jack

7th this day I went to Salem and Left 2 dollers with Mr Pinchon this after noon Employed with Mr John Hines Straps &c

8th this day Employed on Mr John Hines Tyes Deliv an English Jack To Mr Robort Hooper Recivd a Signerl flag from M^{rs} Wattson for Schoone N Joseph Salter

9th this day I went to Salem and Saw Mr Greenleef to no purpose &c I attended the Cort our Case was but No Answer made So it is Continued to September Next and at noon Came Mr Moses Porter and Carried my Doftter Hannah home With him on her Way To Mr Ames her Uncal Delivr a flagg to Mr Wattson

10th this day about Mr J Hines Straps gott Sum hook Repaired at Mr Graves for Mr Hines &c

11th this day Employed on Mr Hines Block Recivd moste part of Mr Hines Blocks from Aaron Loves Recivd Sum buntin from Mr John Brown for an Endsine

12th Recivd 9 yard of Blew buntin from Mr Wattsons Store and a Ditto of White from Mr for a flagg for Schoone H and flagg for Schoone O Delivr Schoone H her flagg Sam Caswell

13th Sunday this day I attended Church with my Daftor Betyc Last Evening I Went on bord Wattson Sloop 2 hours

14th this day Recived a patren of a Long Pender from

Coll Lee for Schooner Dove and a patren of a English Union from Capt Foster for Main

15th Delevred a Long pendent to Coll Lee Schooner Dove John Poor and Delivered a Endsine to Thom Brown an English Unyon and 13 Stripes and Delevrd a flagg to Mr Wattson Store for Schoone O Recivd Sum Blocks from Mr Loves and Two Swevil Hook from Mr Eben Graves for Mr John Hines pade Mr Waite of Malding 2/ in Cash Delevred an English Jack to Capt Foster Will Main

18th this morning I went to Mill this after noon Recivd a patten of a Small Endsine for Mr William Knight old Schooner 8 of Crimson 7 of White & 3 of blew Buntin

20th this day I attended Church hafe Day Wife in after noon and Stod for a Child of CrowninSheld by the Name of Sally

21st this day Employed Sum on board John hoisting Salt for Mr Gray Do nothing at Loft &c

22^d this day Deliverd a flagg or Small Endsine to Mr William Knight Schooner *Molly*

25th this morning arived Sam Horton and a Brigg Said to be a French man

28th this day I Recived 25 from Mr^s Clark for Will Boden

29th this day I Capt Pedrick upper Loft out Mr Grist took his old Shrouds out Arivd N Bartlett and Sam Trevett from france

30th this morning I find Sam Sweet in our Harbour Talked of Working by y^e Day with Horton but Not Deturmened as yett

31st this day I find the Brigg gone that was Sade to be a french man but I Dreem of the Mastors Beng a Sweed &c

August 1788

1st this day I wrote with Mr Sam Horton by the Day I Expect 5/ por day

2^d This day Employed with horton I think that I have Dun 3 days of Common Work for horton Lord have marcy on me

3^d Sunday this day I attended Church all Day with

my Wife & Daftor Betsy M^{rs} Lord hath a Daftor Christned at the Old Meeting house

7th this morning I Shifted to Setled with Cap^t Horton 6/ which I Recivd 2¹¹ of Tea for this after noon Arived my Son Nathan from fishing Recivd 20 Yard of Old Canvis for William Boden

8th this day Recived a Sutt of Riging from M^r Will Boden for a Schoone 64 Tuns

12th as I was Employed on Rigging at Nicks Loft now by Will Curtes This Aftor noon Came Doctor Josiah Lord M^r Nathan Bowen & M^r Josiah Martin and Inquired of me If I wold be willing that Collonel Orne Should Look on boath parts of Brookfield and for him to Sett the Diferance be twen the Parte that Martin hath a Sined him and the Other parte Now I Did not know what the Contention was but I Supposed that Capt Edward Bowen had devideed one half of the hole of Brookfield To M^r Knott Martin which apperes that Bowen Did not In tend but one Third of Brookfield So as I had 3 To one I Conceted to a bide by what Coll Orne may Say That the odds and Martin got Coll Orne to Say watt was the Odds betw the uper half and Lower half of the hole of brookfeeld and Coll Orne Said that he Thought that the upper parte was £10 beter than the Lower and when Capt Bowen Drew a new Devedsinel Deed In his Name he In Sisted for me to give a note for my parte of the £10 — but Bowen wold not give his note for any thing and So all my Relations are a gainst me to take the hole

13th Employed on Bodens Riging this afternoon of Tuesday Came to the Loft Doctor Lord Nathan Bowen and Martin and Talked about the Devision and agreed To have Coll Ornes advice &c

17th this Evening The Remans of M^r Elias was Buryed on the Old hll

18th I fixed two Block for Cap^t J Pedrick

19th this day Employed by three a day delevr an Endsine to M^r Gray

20th this day Employed on G Glover a day at 5

21st this day Employ 1/4 a day for G Glover this after noon I Rec a pater of 3 p of Shrouds from M^r John Hines and began to fix them

22^d this day Employed on Mr John Hines Shrouds a Number of french men of War at Anchor of

23^d this day I delivrd a Sutt of Riging to Capt John Martin for Mr Will Boden and a Sutt for Mr John Hines to Capt John Martin Delivrd a Main Sheet Block to

24th Sunday this day I attended Church all day Wife half day Note I Stood for a Child of Mr Dollebors the Name Is William this after noon I Saw a Ship off with another Ship in Two under Jury mast french men Sailed Sam Trevit for Europe in Brig the *George* of Pool

25th this day I was Employed by Glover a day

26th Employed on G Glover Riging a day

29th this day Came from Boxford a Man with Sum flax & from Mr

30th this day I fixed a four Sail and Main for Capt Sam Hooper P Follet arivd John Grist from france partly fixed a Boden

September 1788

5th this day Son Nathan Sailed Ingaged to fix Shrouds for Gener Glover Recivd a Coile of Shrouding from Capt Green for G Glover

6th Delivr 2 Singol Shrouds Served & 2 p of old Shrouds Repard To Mr Tishew for Schoone

8th this day Im finished fixing a Jibb for Capt Sam Hooper and fixed a boom Pendent for Mr Jo Hines

9th Employed fixing Shrouds for Go Glove Mr Gail

10th this day Delivrd 2 Sinegel Shrou and two pair of old Shrouds Reper To Skip Gail for main mast

11th Employed fixing Shrouds for Gail made a Signel flagg for Sam Horton Blew with an English younon

12th Delivr Two Singel Shrouds and 2 P of old Shrouds Repارد To Skeepe Gail fixed a Boom pend for Gail Recivd a pater of a flag from Mr Hines and a pete of a flag from Mr Wattson Brown Employ G Glovr Sloop $\frac{1}{2}$ day Reciv a four Stay and Straps &c

13th finished four Stay for Sloop Employed till 12 o Clock then Recivd Buntin from Mr Sewall for W Bode for an End Sine

14th Sunday this day I did not Sett in Tho Grist Pew Wife went the after noon Sett in Pew

15th this day Doctr Lords F R A I M Is Rais &c I

Suppose a B O N E of Contintion to the Famerly as Mother Bowen Is Not Ded yet

17th this day Imployed on a Main Sail for Capt Hooper &c fixd a Strap for main Sail of a four Sail of main Sail 2.8.0 a greed with Capt Fittyplace to a Schoone Riging

18th this day I Recivd all the old Shrouds and Jibb and main Stay all to Refix for Capt Fittyplace

21st M^r Olever hath a Son

22^d this day Imployed a fixing Sails for Capten Forster fixed a main and Jibb for Capt Forster N Grow this day Is King Georges Coronation²⁰ all the Shipping in Our Harbour hath there Cullors out for y^e day the Scott Brigg hath a St Andrews at four Top mast head With Jack Endsine and Pendent a very agreeable Sight

23^d this day Imployed on Capt Fittyplace

25th Note My Wife and M^{rs} Olever wrod out

26th this Evening all our Famerly at Isac Mandsfield Esq^s and Sined and Compleated an new Deed Drawn by the old Won and all Acknoledg the Deed

27th this day I went to Salem and Saw M^r Pinchon and this afternoon I Saw M^r Sam Sewall and Doctor N Olever Went With me and M^r Sewall Said that he Wold Continue the Sutt tell April Next as Squr Pinchon Said that he Wold be at Marblehead this after noon I Was at M^r Warners three Times and at M^r Olevers twise but I Could Not find him &c

28th Sunday this morning I fined that the french fleet that Ley at Nantesk are a Moveing and Came out of Nantasket and put To Sea 7 Sail of them Note as the french fleet Came out of Boston Harbour They Pased a Ship that was aTurning in for Boston I Could Not Discover anny on the french Ships

29th this day Imployed on Cap^t Phits Riging Note I Went to Salem and Saw M^r Pinchon

October 1788

1st this day Imploy on Cap^t Fittyplace Riging

20 The notice of this event, especially when contrasted with the absence of notice of any American holiday, is interesting and also the reference to the "Scott Brigg".

4th fixed a Strap for Jibb Sheet and a Strap for Four Sheet for M^r Greay for Olemore 2/

6th this after noon I Went to D Dollebor for fish for M^r Wattson from 3 o Clock till 6 3 hour

7th this four noon I Went to Mill but Could not gitt Meel the Divel to Pay With D N Olever

8th this afternoon I fixed a boom pendent for Capt Fittyplace and

9th this day I tared all the Shrouds down Recived a buck of Tar from M^r Wattson for Capt Fittyplace

11th this day ariv^d Page in Brig

14th Recivd 19 of Cord & 3½ of Bolt Rop from M^r Gray for Cap^t Fittyplace Employed in Servin of Straps

16th this day Sailed the Scotch Brigg for Europe that Mongomery Was Merchant for this Evening the Remains of Abagil was buried this Evening Doct N Olever

17th this day I fixed a pair of Skles for M^r Robort Hooper Juner Nott Olevr abuesed me and Struck my Wife and Disturbed all the House and Nabourhood

18th this day I Sent to Doctor Putnam about Docor Olever

20th this day arivd a brigg from france Smith master Belonging to Providans

22^d this day Dctor Putnam Came hear and Disputed with Doctor Olever and his Dafter

23^d this day I was Employed on fish on board Cap^t Smiths Brigg from 10 o Clock Till ½ after Nine at Night

24th Note M^r White Is In town and We have Settled on Devisionel Deed. My Wife Quite un Well.

26th this day the Rem of the Wife of M^r Henery Galloson Was buried at the Old hill

27th this day Sailed Brigg Smith for Providence

30th this afternoon a meeting at the Town house about the Burying Place at the New meeting house I was their and the meeting was adjurned tell Saterday Next 3 o Clock

November 1788

2^d Doctor Olever hath Sum illnes &c

16th Sunday this day My Wife and Edward and her Son Bob went to Church in the Afternoon

21st this day Employed on board Mr Wattsons Sloop 2 hours

22^d this day on boar Wattsons Sloop 4 hours with Mr Nick Melmasto

23^d Sunday this day Wife attended Church all day Lord have mercy on me and my Famerly as we are in a Disoneral Condicion Lord have mercy on us Miserable Siners

24th this day I Recivd 23 blocks from Benj Homion for Capt Fittiplace

25th this day Is at Nantasket

26th this day Nathan Prince Came from y^e Schoone at Boston

28th this day Came in from Grand Bank but Last from Boston Island Capt Nick Ogalbe My Son Nathan one of his Steers Men Saft and Sound

30th this day Sailed Capt Meek John Coller & John Patten arivd To Prockter from fishing M^{rs} Buryed

December 1788

3^d this day Son Nathan Began to Wash fish

4th this day Nathan finished Wash fish

14th Poor Poor Poor Times

16th Sent a Letter to Brother Porter

17th this [day] Came hear Mr Moses Porter of Boxford and Brought 6 P of Shoes and £1.10.6 In cash So Good

20th this day I ingageed a Sutt of Riging for Mr Will-
iam of Molding

23^d this after noon Recivd two Coiles of Shrouding and a Tjbb Stay for Tyes and 4 Coiles of Spun yarn from Mr Watts Self and 50 yards of Pasling

24th this day a buck of Tar from Mr Wattson for Mr Watts

26th this day Recivd y Straps from Mr Watts Store for Mr Will

January 1789

2^d fixed a Jigg Stay for Capt Fittiplace finished all Mr Watts Riging

3^d this morning Came in Capt John Grist from Lisbon

a hubbub about Dally was a Shamed
 of Whatt Reciv 1/2 Cord Wood M^r Collye
 4th Sunday M^r Olever at Boston
 5th Delevered a Sutt of Riging to M^r Scarlott for M^r
 Will Waitt
 19th this day I arived to My 61 year of My Age
 24th this day a Greed with M^r Wattson To fix a Schooner
 er
 26th this day Recivd most of the blooks from M^{rs} Cleark
 B Homon for M^r Wattson and Sum Corded and
 11 yards of Parsleng for M^r Wattson Employ 3
 hour
 28th this day Recived two P of Shrouds and Jibb Stay
 from M^r Smethers for his Schooner and fixed one Pair
 Employ^d Dennin 8 hours
 29th this day finished two P of Shrouds And Jibb Stay
 for M^r G Smethers Employed Denne 8 hours
 30th fineshd what Blook I Could of M^r Wattsons with
 out hook &c Employed deni 3 hours finis Smethe
 February 1789
 6th this day Recivd a Coile of Shrouding and Jibb Stay
 and 4 Coiles of Spuny from the walk for Ben Hines
 7th Recivd 2 yard of Narrow Parsline and a buck of
 Tar from M^r Hins Employ Denne 3 hours
 12th this day Employed on M^r Jo Collyes Riging at his
 Loft Employed Dennin 6 hours at Hins Riging
 13th Employed on M^r Collyes Riging Did not Employ
 Dinne -----
 14th Employed on Collyers Riging a day
 18th this day I was Employed on M^r Benj Hines Riging
 Employed Denne 6 h Recivd many Blooks from M^{rs} Clark
 for B Hines and a Sutt of hooks & from M^r Wattson
 for his Schooner Delivred a Sut of Riging to Cap Edwa
 Fittyplace for his Schooner
 19th this day Employed on M^r Hin Delivred a Sutt of
 Riging to M^r John Melvin for M^r Benj Hines Recived a
 Coile of Shrouding & Jibb Stay a Coile for Tyes two Coils
 of Spuny from M^r Wattson and a Coile of Shrouding from
 M^r Sam & two Coils of 2 Spuny and
 Jibb Stay Employ Den — 7
 20th this day Reciv 18 yard of Parsling from M^r

Getchel and Sum Tar In a barrel Recivd 8 Cord of Wood from M^r Benj Hines

21st as Sisted Skipe Ridin 2 hour

22^d Sunday this day Quite Lame and much Feveish Gods Will be dun tis Said one M^r Jones Priched at St Mich

23^d this day Lame but Gout out

24th a boy of Capt Black Buryd

27th This day Employed on M^r Wattsons Riging Employed Deni 8 hours and T Antorton from 2 o Clock Til 5 and Son Nathan 3 hours Recivd 7½ yard of Parsling from Maj Courtis for Wattson & a buck of Tar

28th this day Employed on M^r Wattsons Shrouds fineshed y 5th P Employed Dennen 9 hours and Tho Antorton 9 hours Recivd main and four Sheet Blook from B Homer M^{rs} Cleark for M^r Wattson Recivd 12 yards of Parsling from Maj Courtis for M^r Wattson a boy of Porters Buryed the Last night Came hear My Daftor Hannah on a Viset

March 1789

1st Sunday this day Son Nathan & Daftor Hannah attended Church all Day Nathan Prince Quite Ill &c

2^d this day Employed on M^r Wattsons Shrouds fineshed all and Jib Stay Tyes main & four Sheet Blooks and Delivred all this Evening To M^r John Brown Skip^r of ye Schooner and Supposed to be part owner of with M^r Wattson Employed Dennen 10 hours and Tho Antorton 10 hours

3^d Reciv 14 yd of Buntin from M^r Jo Sewall for M^r Sam Sewall

4th this day I Took 4 P of Shrouds & Jibb Stay from Thurly & Logons Loft of ye Schooner *William* To Refit and Landed them at Peares & Greave Loft this After noon My Daftor Hannah Satt off

7th Recivd 6 yard of Red and 1 of White buntin from M^r Beans for a Long pendent

8th Sunday Parson Olevr Skatted Sum body

10th this day Recived a pater of a Long Pendent from M^r Grays Store for Josh Orne J Baley and Buntin for an Endsine and flagg from M^r Gray for M^r Wattson

11th this day Delivr a Pendent to Josh Oren John

Balley and pendent to W Beens To Will Son Recivd a buck of Tar from M^r Hoopers for his new Schooner Deliv Vain to Josh Oren Dolevr Reciv 3 P of from B Hines 12th this day Employed on M^r Robort Hooper New Schooner

14th at 12 noon Sailed My Son Nathan in Cap^t Thos Pedrick Schoon John Michall Carrel Skipper Sailed Rich Hinkley for W Indies

15th Sunday the last Evening I delivr a flag to M^r Will Watte June Note M^r Preech on a Rock

16th Tis Said that M^r Pinchon Is ded at Last

20th this day Delev an Endsine & flagg to M^r Maston Wattson for John Brown

25th this Evening the Remains of Capt Will Coles was Buried

April 1789

1st Recivd two Sett of Runers & Tacle from B Smith for M^r Hooper N Dennen

4th this day I went to Salem and Saw M^r John Pinchon and Came home again

5th this Evening the Remains of Thos Dood was buried

6th this four noon I went to Salem and Saw M^r John Pinchon and he Said he would meet me at 3 o Clock at Coll and at 3 o Clock I mett with M^r Pinchon with Doctor Olever and after four M^r Pinchon and Docter Olever and Doctor Lord all Mett at Sq^r Sewell offes and had a Debate on Olever and My affair but Did not Conclude but Must go to Corte

October 1790

18 Son Nathan went to Salem

19 this day Nathan went to Boston with Cap^t Knott Martin Carried 11 boxes of Lemons with him

22 this day Greate to Do at Cap^t Jona^t Glover's as

23 Wife Gone to her Brother

24 this day Came from boston my Son Nathan No preeching at St Michals

27 Sailed John Russell and John Patten and John Prince

29 Son Nathan Shipd

(To be continued)

CORRECTION

Mr. Thomas E. Babson, President of the Cape Ann Scientific, Literary and Historical Association of Gloucester, Massachusetts writes as follows:

Quoting from Vol. XCI, July 1955, page 249 of the "Collections" the very interesting article by Miss Elma Loines about Seth Low:

"His mother was Hannah Haskell whose ancestor had built about 1640 the house on Lincoln Road in West Gloucester (now Essex) where Seth was born. It now belongs again to a New York Haskell and is kept like a museum"

I confess to some confusion about these representations.

(1) Lincoln Street (not "road") is in West Gloucester, not Essex.

(2) I am not aware that any part of Essex was ever part of Gloucester.

(3) At 11 Lincoln Street is house presumed to have been built by Richard Window and sold by him about 1656 to William Haskell who came from what is now Beverly.

(4) This house was owned for about 30 years by the late Mr. and Mrs. Albert H. Atkins and was purchased by this association Jan. 1, 1955, from Mrs. Atkins' son by a former marriage, Capt. Allen Hobbs.

(5) Part of the money for making the purchase was pledged by Mr. Broderick Haskell of New York City.

(6) The Atkins furnished the house with a notable collection of early American furnishings, which were acquired by us along with the house.

(7) I have been under the impression that Seth Low was born in Essex in another house which may still be standing.

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